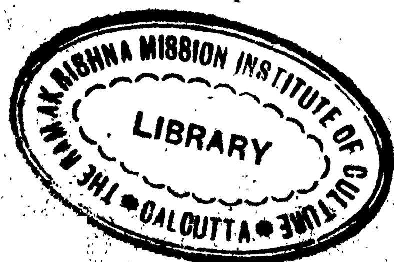

THE RAMAKRISHNA MISSION INSTITUTE OF CULTURE
LIBRARY
CALCUTTA



LATER MUGHALS

WILLIAM IRVINE, I.C.S. (*ret.*),
Author of *Storia do Mogor, Army of the Indian Moghuls, &c.*

EDITED BY
JADUNATH SARKAR, I.E.S.,
Author of *History of Aurangzib, Shivaji and His Times, Studies in Mughal India, &c.*

Vol. I
1707—1720

CALCUTTA: M. C. SARKAR & SONS.
LONDON: LUZAC & CO.

PRINTER : S. C. MAZUMDAR
SRI GOURANGA PRESS
71/1, Mirzapur Street, Calcutta.

PUBLISHED BY S. C. SARKAR
M. C. Sarkar & Sons, 90/2A, Harrison Road, Calcutta.

CONTENTS


THE RAMAKRISHNA MISSION INSTITUTE OF CULTURE
LIBRARY
CALCUTTA

ABBREVIATIONS

Ahwal—*Ahwal-ul-khawaqin* by Muhammad Qasim Aurangabadi.
Ain—*Ain-i-Akbari* by Abul Fazl, Eng. tr. by Blochmann and Jarrett, 3 vols.
Ashob—*Tarikh-i-Shahadat-i-Farrukh-siyar* by Md. Bakhsh Ashob.
Bahadur—*Bahadur Shah-nama* by Danishmand Khan Ali.
B. M.—British Museum.
Chamanistan—by Anand Ram Mukhlis, (litho.)
Dil—*Nuskha-i-Dilkasha* by Bhimsen Burhanpuri, (B. M. Or. 28.)
Ghulam Ali—*Muqaddama-i-Shah Alam-nama.*
Ijad—Md. Ahsan Ijad's *Farrukh-siyar-nama.* [Same as "Anonymous Fragment."]
Iradat—Iradat Khan's *Tazkira,* tr. into Eng. by Jonathan Scott in his *History of Dekhan,* vol. ii, pt. 4.
Jagjivan-das—India Office Library MS.
J. A. S. B.—*Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
Jang or *Jangnama*—*Jangnama* by Danishmand Khan Ali.
Kamraj—*Ibratnama.* (The same writer's *Azam-ul-harb* is not cited.)
Kamwar—Kamwar Khan's *Tazkirat-us-salatin-i-Chaghtaiya.*
Khush-hal—Khush-hal Chand's *Nadir-uz-Zamani.*
K. K.—Khafi Khan's *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab.* Vol. II. (Bib. Ind. Series.)
M. A.—*Masir-i-Alamgiri* (Bib. Ind. Series.)
Mac.—Macauliffe's *Sikh Religion,* 6 vols.
Miftah—*Miftah-ut-tawarikh* by T. W. Beale.
M. M. or M. Mhd.—Mirza Muhammad's *Tazkira* or *Ibratnama.*
M. U.—*Masir-ul-umara,* 3 vols. (Bib. Ind. Series.)
Nur.—*Jahandar-nama* by Nuruddin Faruqi Multani Dihlavi.
Qasim—Muhammad Qasim Lahori's *Ibratnama.*
Rustam Ali—Rustam Ali Shahabadi's *Tarikh-i-Hindi.*
Scott—Jonathan Scott's *History of Dekhan,* vol. ii, pt. 4.
Shiu Das—*Munavvir-ul-qalam.*
Siwanih—*Siwanih-i-Khizri* by Md. Umar, son of Khizr Khan.
Siyar—*Siyar-ul-mutakherin,* Pers. text printed at Calcutta, 2 vols., Eng. tr. by Mustafa, 4 vols.
T-i-M or *T-i-Mdi.*—*Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* by Mirza Md.
Warid—*Mirat-i-Waridat* by Md. Shafi Warid.
Yahya—*Tazkirat-ul-muluk.*

WILLIAM IRVINE: A BIOGRAPHY

HIS CAREER

William Irvine, the son of a Scotch advocate, was born in Aberdeen on 5th July, 1840. He came to London when quite a child, and after leaving school at the early age of fifteen he went into business, until he obtained an appointment in the Admiralty at nineteen. He stayed there for a year or two; but having acquired a very good knowledge of French and German, he eventually resigned, went to King's College, London, to complete his studies, and entering for the Indian Civil Service he passed very high in the examination of 1862.

Arriving in India on 12th December, 1863, he was attached to the North-Western Provinces Civil Service in the following June, as Assistant Magistrate of Saharanpur. After spending nearly a year there, he was sent to Muzaffarnagar, for four years (April 1865—July 1869). A long furlough to Europe consumed more than two years, 1872 and 1873. He next served in Farrukhabad (June 1875—April 1879), where he rose to be Joint Magistrate. He had already begun to study Indo-Muhammadan history with scholarly seriousness, and the first fruits of his work in this line were an accurate and luminous account of the Bangash Nawabs of Farrukhabad published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1878—79, and partly incorporated in the *Gazetteer of the Farrukhabad District*, edited by Mr. Atkinson (Government Press, 1880). In it he utilized not only the formal Persian histories but also the large collection of unedited family papers and letters of the local Nawabs.

But Ghazipur was the district with which he was connected longest, namely for seven years. Here he first served as Revenue Settlement Officer and then as Collector, and left a memorial of his work in a blue-book, *The Settlement Report of Ghazipur District*, printed in 1886. His keenness in revenue work and his application to detail are evidenced by his article on *Canal Rates versus Land Revenue* published in the *Calcutta Review*, 1869, and a volume entitled *The Rent Digest or the*

Law of Procedure relating to Landlord and Tenant, Bengal Presidency, 1869.

His literary attainments and painstaking exertions as a revenue officer, did not, however, bring him any of the prize posts in the Civil Service, for which an officer of his unusual parts might have reasonably hoped. So, he retired as soon as he qualified for pension, leaving the service on 27th March 1888, as Magistrate of Saharanpur,—curiously enough, the same district that he had joined at the beginning of his official career. Out of his twenty-five years of service, almost exactly one-fifth was spent on leave.

LITERARY WORK IN ENGLAND

At his retirement he was only 48, and looked forward to many years of health and leisure which could be devoted to literary work. Already while in India he had perfected his knowledge of Persian, and, what is much more difficult, he had become proficient in reading manuscripts written in that tongue. He had also begun to collect Persian historical MSS., in addition to printed and lithographed works in that language as well as Urdu and Hindi having even the remotest connection with the Mughal period. During his official career many Indian gentlemen, knowing his special taste, sought to please him by presenting Persian MSS., and he also purchased them in India and in England. Besides, he kept in his pay a Muhammadan scribe of Bhitari Sayyidpur (Ghazipur district), to search for and copy such Persian MSS. as could not be had for love or money. Transcripts were also made for him of those rare MSS. of the Royal Library, Berlin, which he required for his historical researches. Thus it happened that he made a collection of original MS. authorities on his special period which was unapproached by any of the public libraries of Europe.

To take only one example, he had two MSS. of the Anecdotes of Aurangzib (*Ahkam-i-Alamgiri*) ascribed to Hamid-ud-din Khan Nimchah, which is not to be found in any public library of India or Europe, and of whose existence historians were unaware, though it is a work extremely characteristic of the Emperor and gives information of first-rate importance

concerning his life and opinions. I was happy to have been able to discover another fragment of this work and to present a transcript of it to him. Again, I could find only one copy of the *Chahar Gulshan* in India, and had to base a portion of my *India of Aurangzib* on this single manuscript. But Mr. Irvine possessed three MSS. of it,—two of them having been presented to him by Indian friends. After I had made his acquaintance, whenever I came upon any find of rare Persian MSS. on Indian history, he was sure to secure a copy of them for himself. Thus I was the means of enriching his private library with transcripts of Mirza Rajah Jai Singh's letters (*Haft Anjuman*), the orders issued by Aurangzib in his old age and collected by his secretary Inayetullah Khan (*Ahkam-i-Alamgiri*), the letters of Shah Jahan and his sons as preserved in the *Faiyaz-ul-qawanin*, and the epistles of the Persian king Shah Abbas II. As Mr. Irvine wrote to me,—

"What you tell me about your various finds of MSS. makes my mouth water, and I shall be very grateful if you can engage any one to copy for me Inayetullah Khan's *Ahkam* and the various fragments you have of Hamid-ud-din's collection. The *Haft Anjuman* seems to be a valuable and most unexpected discovery. I have scolded Abdul Aziz [his retained scribe]—whose special hunting ground is Benares,—for not having discovered it!!" (Letter, 13 Nov., 1908).

His *Later Mughals*

With such a wealth of original Persian sources in his possession and his knowledge of continental tongues opening to him the East Indian records of the Dutch, French and Portuguese Governments, as well as those of the Christian missions to the East (especially the letters of the Society of Jesus), Mr. Irvine planned an original history of the decline of the Mughal Empire. It was entitled *The Later Mughals* and intended to cover the century from the death of Aurangzib in 1707 to the capture of Delhi by the English in 1803. As he wrote to me on 23rd February, 1902:—

"I have first to finish the History from 1707 to 1803 which I began twelve years ago. At present I have not got beyond

1738, in my draft, though I have materials collected up to 1759 or even later."

But the work grew in his hands, and so conscientious a workman was he, so many sources of information did he consult, and so often did he verify his references, that his progress was slow and he lived to complete the narrative of only thirty-one years out of the century he intended to embrace in his work. Chapters of the *Later Mughals* appeared from time to time, once in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, but mainly in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. Five years after writing the above to me, he thus speaks of the state of his undertaking in the *L'envoi* to its last published chapter (*J. A. S. B.*, November, 1908):

"With the disappearance of the Sayyid brothers the story attains a sort of dramatic completeness, and I decide to suspend at this point my contributions on the history of the Later Mughals. There is reason to believe that a completion of my original intention is beyond my remaining strength. I planned on too large a scale, and it is hardly likely now that I shall be able to do much more...The first draft for the years 1721 to [April] 1738 is written. I hope soon to undertake the narrative of 1739, including the invasion of Nadir Shah. It remains to be seen whether I shall be able to continue the story for the years which follow Nadir Shah's departure. But I have read and translated and made notes for another twenty years ending about 1759 or 1760."

These words were written in October 1907, and they show that the work had not grown at all during the preceding eight years. What lured Mr. Irvine away from the *Later Mughals* was his monumental edition of Niccolao Manucci's Travels in the Mughal Empire, the *Storia do Mogor*,—a work which entailed seven years of hard labour and about which I shall speak later. Another but lesser source of distraction was his monograph *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, (1903)—a thoroughly sound and scholarly work, which will long endure as an indispensable dictionary of Persian, Turki and Hindi military technical terms. He hurriedly brought together in it the fruits of long years of study, lest he should be anticipated by Dr. Paul Horn, an

eminent German orientalist, who had published a similar work on an earlier period of Muhammadan India. Chips from Mr. Irvine's workshop were also published in the *Indian Antiquary*, the *Indian Magazine* (1903), the *Journal of the Moslem Institute* (Calcutta), and the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. Thorough in everything that he undertook, his careful editing and annotation cost him an immense amount of time even in the case of these bye-products of his historical factory.

The Later Mughals LEFT A FRAGMENT

But students of Indian history must lament that Mr. Irvine ever set his hand to the *Storia* and the *Army of the Indian Moghuls*; these books prevented the continuation of *The Later Mughals* to the date, 1765, after which the Persian records cease to be of first-rate value and we get full light from the documents in the European tongues. In these Persian records lay the special strength of Mr. Irvine. He had spent a life in collecting, mastering and arranging them; and his death robbed the world of all his garnered knowledge. His successor in the same field will have to begin at the very beginning and to spend years in going over the same materials, and can hope to arrive at Mr. Irvine's position only after twenty years of preliminary study. If Mr. Irvine had rigorously shunned all such diversions of his attention and pushed on with his grand work, he could in his remaining years have placed on record his life's accumulation of information and reflection on the decline and fall of the Mughal Empire, and completed its history at least up to its practical extinction about the middle of the 18th century. But he has not done it; and for years to come we have little chance of his unfinished task being carried to completion with anything approaching the high standard of fulness and accuracy he attained in the portion he lived to write. In this respect the world is distinctly the poorer for his having undertaken to edit Manucci.

Shortly after he had begun work on Manucci, Mr. Irvine was attacked by the disease to which he ultimately succumbed in 1911. For the last eight years of his life he was haunted by a sad foreboding that his days on earth were numbered and

that the chosen work of his life was destined to remain a fragment. In letter after letter he urged me to hurry on with my own historical work if I wished him to see it.

"At my age I cannot afford to lose any time, as I fear not surviving to finish the long and heavy tasks I have on hand." (18th March, 1904).

"I see every reason to believe that your edition of the Alamgir letters will be a thorough, good piece of work,—but I trust it will not be too long delayed,—for I am getting old and shall not last very much longer." (16th Jan. 1906).

"I hope that your first volume of *Aurangzib* may appear before I leave the scene." (29th Jan. 1909).

At last in October, 1907 he mournfully admitted that he had not enough strength left to complete his original plan, and that he was not likely to write much more of *The Later Mughals* than the portion already sent to the press. Things looked a little more hopefully for him in the warm weather of 1910. As he wrote on 8th July—

"Thanks for your enquiries about my health. Decay has not come on so rapidly as I thought it would. The complaint I suffer from is under control and apparently no worse than it was five years ago,—and considering I was 70 three days ago, I have a fair amount of activity, bodily and mental, left to me. In fact I am contemplating this next winter writing out my Bahadur Shah chapter (1707—1712) and sending it to the Asiatic Society of Bengal."

But unfortunately the hope was delusive. On the last day of the year he was taken very ill. For some time it was expected that he might recover a certain amount of health and strength. In the summer of 1911 he was a little better and appeared to be getting stronger. On 31st August he wrote to me,

"I am coming downstairs once a day for 4 or 5 hours....., I am working on quietly and happily. My upper part—heart, lungs and liver, are declared by the specialist to be quite clear and likely to go on [doing their] work so long well that I may reasonably [hope for] a continued life of five to ten years. So it is worth while going on, as I shall be able to finish one thing or [another.]"

The improvement, however, was temporary. Since the autumn set in, he began to fail rapidly and it was realized that he could not last the winter. He bore his long and trying illness with admirable patience and fortitude, and passed away quietly at last on Friday, 3rd November, 1911.

Since S. R. Gardiner died with the cry "My History! Oh, my History!" there has been no such sad case of a monumental work undertaken with the fulness of knowledge but cut short by the cruel hand of death. For Gardiner, however, there was the consolation that he had arrived almost within sight of his goal, the Restoration, and was leaving a not unworthy disciple and continuer in Prof. Firth. This consolation was denied to the closing years of William Irvine's life.

His edition of Manucci's Travels

Of all Mr. Irvine's works the *Travels of Manucci* (*Storia do Mogor*) is most appreciated by the European public, and with them, strangely enough, it is his chief title to fame as a scholar. This attitude is well reflected by the *Pioneer* (18th November, 1911), which thus notices his death:—

"At Home Mr. Irvine's name outside a small circle of students must have been as nearly as possible unknown when the first two volumes of his Manucci appeared in 1907 and were at once recognized as the most valuable and important work of the kind that had seen the light since the publication of Col. Yule's Marco Polo......His reputation as a scholar had been already established, and it stands on an enduring basis... ...It is not likely that any other English edition of Manucci's work will ever be forthcoming to supersede that of Mr. Irvine."

The editor's work is a marvel of industry and accurate scholarship. It seems incredible that one man could have done it all, and a reviewer has well remarked, "The notes appear to have been written by *a syndicate of scholars* instead of by one man only." Mr. Irvine's notes and appendices are often of more value than Manucci's text, as they contain the fullest and most accurate information available in any European tongue, about the details of the reigns of Shah Jahān, Aurangzib and Shah Alam, with exact dates and references to authorities.

Every person who crossed the orbit of Manucci or Manucci's acquaintances even for a moment, has his life unfolded here with a wealth of accurate detail. Indeed, it may be rightly said of William Irvine that he left no part of Indian history from 1650 to 1750 untouched, and touched nothing that he did not illumine. Writers on Indian history who are ignorant of Persian would do well to study the notes in the *Storia* and the *Later Mughals* and carefully correct their own statements in the light of the information there collected.

History of Manucci's MSS.

Before Mr. Irvine rediscovered Manucci's MSS. at Berlin and Venice, that Italian traveller had been known to the world only through the pirated and incorrect French version made by Catrou, and scholars had been sighing for the recovery of the original text as a thing hardly to be hoped for.

The history of Manucci's book reads like a romance. Niccolao Manucci had left Venice in November, 1653 at the age of fourteen as a stowaway. Reaching India in January 1656, he took service under Prince Dara Shukoh and latterly under Shah Alam. At intervals he set up practice as a doctor without any medical training, travelled all over India, went through various adventures and changes of fortune, and passed his old age at Madras and Pondicherry, dying in 1717. Thus his life in India covered more than sixty years.

At different times he wrote his history of the Mughals *(Storia do Mogor)* in Portuguese, French and Italian,—about one-third of the whole work having been drawn up originally in his mother tongue Italian, and nearly the whole being rewritten in Portuguese mixed with French. It consists of five parts, dealing with

(i) the author's journey from Venice to Delhi and a short chronicle of the Mughal Emperors down to the accession of Aurangzib,

(ii) the reign of Aurangzib, with the author's personal history,

(iii) the Mughal Court, its system of government and revenue, much mixed up with digressions on European

companies, the Hindu religion, Indian animals, the Catholics in India, &c.

(iv) current events in the Mughal camp in the Deccan from 1701, with long accounts of the doings of the Jesuits and other Catholics,

(v) events in 1705 and in 1706, with many stories of earlier years interspersed.

The first three parts he sent to Paris in 1701 by the hand of M. Boureau Deslandes, an officer of the French East India Company, "evidently in the hope that the *Storia* would be published at the expense of Louis XIV." Deslandes lent the MS. to Father Francis Catrou, a Jesuit, who in 1705 published an incomplete, garbled and grossly incorrect French version of it, with interpolations from other sources. This work ends with 1658 and has been translated into English, two reprints of the English version having been issued in Calcutta since 1900. In 1715 Catrou published a continuation, which is almost entirely taken from Part II. of Manucci's MS. and wholly covers the reign of Aurangzib. It had not been translated into English before.

This Manucci MS.,—*i.e.*, the version of the *Storia* which was first sent to Europe,—lay in the library of the Jesuits in Paris till 1763 when it was sold with other works of that collection and passed through successive hands into the Royal Library of Berlin (1887). It is described as the *Berlin Codex* Phillipps 1945, consisting of three volumes written in Portuguese with three gaps subsequently filled up in French, and this is the text translated by Mr. Irvine.

When Manucci in India learnt of the audacious plagiarism of Catrou, he sent (1706) the original Italian draft of his *Storia,* Parts I. II. and III. (which he had always kept by himself), as well as the only extant MS. of Parts IV (French) and V (French and Portuguese), to the Senate of Venice, begging that august body "to order the publication of this little work which is likely to be of the greatest use to travellers, missionaries, and merchants, etc." This MS. is styled *Venice Codex XLIV* of Zanetti's catalogue. The original text of Part V is now in the San Marco Library, Venice. (Italian MS., class VI No. 135.)

An Italian version of Part V in manuscript was made by Count Cardeira out of Portuguese in 1712, *(Venice Codex XLV)*.

For a long time it was believed that the MS. which Manucci had presented to the Venetian Senate was mislaid during Napoleon's invasion of the Republic. But what Napoleon I. took away in 1797 was only a volume of 56 contemporary portraits of the Princes and other celebrities of the Mughal Empire drawn at Manucci's instance by Mir Muhammad, an artist in the household of Shah Alam, before 1686, and presented by Manucci to the Senate. (It is now *O. D.* No. 45 of the National Library, Paris). These portraits are of surpassing value and have been reproduced in Mr. Irvine's edition. Another volume of 66 drawings of Hindu gods, religious ceremonies, etc., sent by Manucci to Venice at the same time, is still there.

While scholars were for nearly a century mourning the disappearance of Manucci's original MSS., they had been quietly reposing in the Library of Saint Mark, Venice, their original destination! In 1899 Mr. Irvine rediscovered them there, and three years afterwards had them copied for his use. The Government of India lent him generous aid, and his translation was published in four sumptuous volumes in the "Indian Texts Series" in 1907 and 1908. Manucci in his original and undistorted form has at last been placed within the reach of readers, and the confusion, error, and obscurity which hung over his work for more than two centuries have at last been dispelled. This is Irvine's achievement.

IRVINE AS A MAN

The most charming feature of Mr. Irvine's character was the spirit in which he gave unfailing and eager help and appreciation to younger men engaged in researches connected with his own subject. In this respect he presents a notable contrast to most other orientalists whose mutual jealousies and acrimonious criticisms of each other darken their fame. I am only one out of the many students of Indian history who were indebted to him for help, guidance and light on obscure points. But for his assistance in securing for me loans or transcripts of

rare Persian MSS. from England, France, and Germany, my *History of Aurangzib* could hardly have come into being. He also freely lent me MSS. from his own collection, and beat down the rates demanded by photographers in London and Paris for making rotary bromide prints of Persian MSS. for me. In every difficulty and doubt that I have appealed to him, he has given me prompt advice and assistance. A certain Indian Nawab has a rare collection of Persian historical letters. I secured his permission to take a copy of it at my expense and engaged a scribe. But for more than a year the Nawab's officers under various pretexts refused my man access to the MS. At last, in despair I wrote to Mr. Irvine about the case. He wrote to one of his friends high in the Civil Service of Allahabad, and this gentleman communicated with the Nawab. The owner of the MS. now had it copied *at his own expense,* bound the transcript in silk and morocco, and presented it to Mr. Irvine, who lent it to me as soon as he received it! Mr. Irvine also criticized and emended the first five chapters of my *History* as freely and carefully as if it were his own work.

Indeed, he rendered literary assistance in such profusion and at so much expense of his own time, that I was at times ashamed of having sought his aid and thus interrupted his own work. In connection with the statistical accounts of the Mughal Empire, I had complained that ancient India, like ancient Egypt, can be better studied in the great European capitals than in the country itself, and Mr. Irvine's reply was to send me unsolicited his three MSS. of the *Chahar Gulshan,* a valuable work on Indian statistics and topography in the early 18th century, of which I had found only one and incorrect copy in India. Similar instances might be easily multiplied.

And yet so scrupulously honest was he that the most trivial assistance rendered by others to *him* was fully acknowledged in his works, as can be seen from the notes and addenda of his *Storia do Mogor.* He overwhelmed me with assistance while he lived, and yet his last letter written only two months before his death closes with the words, "Thanks for all the help of many sorts I have received *from you*!"

As a Historian

As a historian, Mr. Irvine's most striking characteristics were a thoroughness and an accuracy unsurpassed even by the Germans. His ideal was the highest imaginable: "A historian ought to know *everything*, and, though that is an impossibility, he should never despise any branch of learning to which he has access." (Letter to me, 2nd October, 1910).

He brought light to bear on his subject from every possible angle ; Persian, English, Dutch and Portuguese records, the correspondence of the Jesuit missionaries in India, books of travel, and parallel literatures, were all ransacked by him. The bibliography at the end of the *Storia* or the *Army of the Indian Moghuls* is itself a source of instruction. A conscientious workman, he gave exact reference for every statement, and only those who carry on research know how very laborious and time-absorbing this seemingly small matter is. For these reasons I wish that our Indian writers in particular should study and imitate *The Later Mughals* as a model of historical method and a means of intellectual discipline.

Some are inclined to deny Mr. Irvine the title of the Gibbon of India, on the ground that he wrote a mere narrative of events, without giving those reflections and generalizations that raise the *Decline and Fall* to the rank of a philosophical treatise and a classic in literature. But they forget that Indian historical studies are at present at a much more primitive stage than Roman history was when Gibbon began to write. We have yet to collect and edit our materials, and to construct the necessary foundation,—the bed-rock of ascertained and unassailable *facts*,—on which alone the superstructure of a philosophy of history can be raised by our happier successors. Premature philosophizing, based on unsifted facts and untrustworthy chronicles, will only yield a crop of wild theories and fanciful reconstructions of the past like those which J. T. Wheeler garnered in his now forgotten *History of India*, as the futile result of years of toil.

As Mr. Kennedy writes in the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1912, (pp. 299-304) :—"Irvine's conception of history was much like that which is at present in vogue at the *Ecole*

des Chartes. History was to be mainly occupied with the search for, and investigation of, original authorities,* and to be an exact chronicle of the doings of the time. Although Irvine did not neglect such picturesque touches as he might find in his authorities, he did not profess to be an artist, nor would he consider historical narrative a fine art. Still less was he a philosophical historian: he was doubtful of generalities, and he seldom attempted generalizations. His strength lay in detail and to be faultlessly accurate was his pride. Two things especially attracted him: he had a Scottish love of genealogies and an equal love of precise dates.

"Copious extracts from the MSS. he studied formed the basis of Irvine's work; round these he built up his remarks and explanations. Besides the purely historical details, Irvine devoted much attention to collateral subjects, such as the constitution of the Moghul nobility, the administrative system, the system of land revenue, and the organization of the army. Ballads, diaries, letters, charters, rules of official practice and imperial rescripts, coins and seals,—he made himself conversant with them all.

"As a commentator Irvine excelled; he searched Europe, Asia, and America to explain an obscure allusion or to settle a date...... Both nature and training made Irvine an excellent judge of evidence, and his style was clear, logical, and to the point, an instrument well fitted for his purpose. What he had to say was always worth the hearing. In knowledge of his particular period of history he was unrivalled."

His Humour

As a writer, Mr. Irvine was a vigorous controversialist. His article on *Canal Rates vs. Land Revenue* makes a trenchant attack on Mr. A. O. Hume's proposal to exclude the profits due to canal irrigation when fixing the assessment of land revenue and to fix the former on purely commercial principles.

* Mr. Irvine wrote to me on 23rd Feb. 1902: "I can see that you are working on what I believe to be the correct lines for making any profitable advance in the knowledge of Indian History—that is, a recourse to original documents and their exact critical elucidation." [J. Sarkar.]

He had also a happy vein of humour which appears now and then in his writings, but oftener in his letters. Thus to his remark in the above article that "such a haphazard application of his great doctrine (of the greatest happiness of the greatest number) might well make old Jeremy Bentham shudder in his grave," he adds the foot-note "That is, if he ever got there. We believe his body was embalmed and kept in a glass case!"

In his *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 110, after asserting that the strange word *janjal* is a corruption of the known word *jazail,* and tracing the supposed steps of this corruption, he adds 'Q. E. D.'!

Again, he urged me to settle our difference as to the date of Shah Alam's confinement on the ground "If doctors' disagree, what will laymen think of it?" In some other letters he wrote :—

"I suppose man has still enough of the brute in him to have remained a fighting animal,—and the 'drum and trumpet school' [of historians] seem just as popular as ever. . . . . The losing side [*e.g.*, Dara Shukoh's] always get scant justice in histories." (13th Aug. 1905).

"So far the Berlin Librarian has taken no notice of my communication [asking to be put in relations with a photographer there.] But I suppose one must have patience and wait the pleasure of these Great Men!" (10th Oct. 1905.)

"I have seen no mention of Bhimsen, [the Hindu author of a most valuable Persian history of Aurangzib's reign], or his sons. Historians are rarely mentioned [in other histories]; — *not much hope for us!*"

THE HISTORY OF THE GROWTH OF *The Later Mughals*

The actual writing of Mr. Irvine's History commenced in 1891, and we find him on 19th May 1892 drawing up a "Rough Outline of Headings and Order of Narrative" for the reign of Bahadur Shah, which closely corresponds to Chapter I. as it finally left his hand. In September 1893 he drafted a scheme entitled "Order of work to be done", which includes such items as "Read up for [regnal years] 1-20 of Muhammad Shah—continue narrative down to death of A. K. [Sayyid Abdullah

Khan]—provincial history—grandees—geography: take out all names, arrange, identify—biography: do the same—read for completion—read for style—verify quotations—index."

By the end of November 1893 the narrative had been carried down to the death of Sayyid Abdullah (ch. vi. 24), *i.e.*, all that he lived to see through the press. Then, he tells us, "in 1894 I began the preparatory studies for an account of the later Moghul system of government and administration in all its branches, being impelled by the belief that some information of the kind was a necessary introduction to a History of that period, which I had previously commenced. Before I had done more than sketch out my first part, which deals with the Sovereign, the Court Ceremonial, and the elaborate system of Entitlature, I noticed the issue of a book on a part of my subject by Dr. Paul Horn. The perusal of this excellent work diverted my attention to a later section of my proposed Introduction, —the subject of the Army." (*J.R.A.S.*, 1896, p. 509). This sketch of the Army Organization of the Indian Mughals was published in 1896 covering 61 pages of the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society, and reissued as a book in an amplified form in 1903.

The next two years were devoted to the revision annotation and preparation of some of these earlier chapters of the *Later Mughals* for printing in the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and reading for the period ahead.

Composition was resumed on 12th October 1898, with section 25 of the reign of Muhammad Shah, and the narrative was carried down to the events of April 1738, when the first rumours of the threatened invasion of Nadir Shah began to reach Delhi. Here his manuscript ends.

The Editor's Work

From time to time Mr. Irvine revised his first draft. Chapters II to VI sec. 24 were printed in his life-time, and to these he gave his finishing touches. Chapter I (Bahadur Shah) and Chapter VII from the fall of the Sayyid Brothers in 1720 to the death of Rustam Ali Khan in February 1725, bear marks of his revision and correction, though not in a complete or final

form, as even in them he left many gaps to be filled up and query-marks for verification or correction. It seems to me that he delayed publishing the Bahadur Shah chapter because he waited to consult Macauliffe's long-announced *Sikh Religion,* which came out in six volumes as late as 1909. We have a marginal note in the MS. of Chapter I "compare these chapters on the Sikh Gurus with the dates &c. in the biographies of Macauliffe's *Religion of the Sikhs.*"

His own corrections stop with page 188 of his manuscript of the second part of Muhammad Shah's reign, *i.e.*, February 1725, and from this point to the last page that he wrote (*viz.*, p. 363, dealing with April 1738), the draft is unrevised, incomplete, and with many things left doubtful for future verification, correction and completion and rearrangement of the narrative and sifting of evidence. This last portion requires considerable labour on the editor's part. The narrative, as sketched by Irvine has to be reconstructed, completed and checked by a close reference to the original Persian sources. Besides, an entirely new class of documents,—the Marathi letters and reports—which have seen the light since 1898 and which were unknown to Irvine, have to be woven into the text, because of the very important part played by the Marathas in the affairs of the Delhi Empire from 1723 onwards.

The editor has considered it advisable to subject Mr. Irvine's copious foot-notes to a severe compression. These notes were written by him more for his own satisfaction,—*i.e.*, as a means of verifying his statements and giving an outlet to his overflowing miscellaneous but extremely accurate information, the garnered harvest of a long and studious life,—than as a means of instructing the reader. His notes as he left them would have buried his narrative under their ponderous load. To have printed them in full would have had the effect of exhibiting the *Later Mughals* hidden by its scaffoldings. Besides, the higher cost of paper and printing (respectively fourfold and double the pre-war rates), has enforced a rigid economy of space on the publishers. The notes, therefore, have been given here in an abbreviated form, as a guide

to sources for students, but many interesting sidelights and Persian verses and proverbs have been left out.

Mr. Irvine planned his History on an encyclopædic scale. In addition to the political and Court history of the central Government of Delhi, he wished to write the local history of each of the provinces (even when it was not the scene of any activity of the supreme Government or important campaign) and to construct lists of the chief officers (central and provincial), saints, scholars &c. year by year with accurate biographical notes and dates. A rough and incomplete sketch of provincial history for the reign of Bahadur Shah is all that he has left, together with many pages of bare uncorrected lists of officials from the highest ministers of the Crown down to the *faujdars* and commandants of forts. All these have been excluded by the editor.

Since Irvine stopped working at his History, the study of Mughal coins has been greatly advanced by the labours of Messrs. Nelson Wright (Calcutta Museum), Whitehead (Lahore Museum), C. J. Brown (Lucknow Museum) and contributors to the Numismatic Supplement to the *J. A. S. B.*, (especially Mr. Hodivala for minor mints and obscure reigns). The editor has not incorporated the result of these later researches, as it would have meant a considerable modification of Mr. Irvine's paragraphs on the subject, which have a value of their own as marking an advance on the British Museum catalogue and therefore representing a definite stage in the study of Indian numismatics.

In spelling oriental words the editor has followed one uniform system and deleted the author's copious final *h*'s. No diacritical mark or special letter has been used.

The hearty thanks of the editor and the reader alike are due to Babu Brajendra Nath Banerji, a Bengali historian of remarkable industry and love of accuracy, for the patient and minute care with which he has read the proofs. Some of the mistakes are due to the editor having unsuspiciously accepted the text of pages 150-256 from the printed copy of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.

JADUNATH SARKAR

LIST OF W. IRVINE'S PUBLISHED WRITINGS

Books:

The Rent Digest or the Law of Procedure relating to Landlord and Tenant, Bengal Presidency. (Government Press, Calcutta, 1869).

Settlement Report of Ghazipur District, 1886.

The Army of the Indian Moghuls: its organization and administration. (Luzac, 1903).

Storia do Mogor or Mogul India by Niccolao Manucci, tr. with introduction and notes. (Indian Texts Series, John Murray, 4 vols. 1907 and 1908).

Papers:

Calcutta Review.

1869. *Canal rates vs. Land Revenue.*

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

1878-79. *Bangash Nawabs of Farrukhabad.*

1884. *Baiswari Folk songs.*

1893. *Notes on the Official reckonings of the reigns of the Later Mughal Emperors.*

1897. *Nadir Shah and Md. Shah* (p. 24).

1900. *Jangnama of Farrukh-siyar and Jahandar Shah.*

Later Mughals.—

1894, corresponding to Ch. I. sec. 17-21.

1896, ,, ,, Ch. II. and III.

1898, ,, ,, Ch. IV sec. 1-11.

1903, ,, ,, ,, ,, 12-18.

1904, ,, ,, ,, ,, 19-42.

1904, Extra No., corresponding to Ch. V. sec. 1-17 and Ch. VI. sec. 1-4.

1908, corresponding to Ch. VI sec. 5-24.

1907 & 1909. *Mughal Mint Towns.*

A Supplementary Index of the place-names on pp. 89 to 414 of the Ain-i-Akbari Vol. II. trans. by Jarrett (by Irvine and L. M. Anstey, in book form, 1907).

Notes for a second edition of Blochmann's Ain.

Indian Magazine:

1903. Translation of Anand-ram Mukhlis's *Pilgrimage to Garh Mukteshwar.*

Indian Antiquary:

1894. Beale's *Or. Bio. Dic.* (p. 299).

1900. *Etymology of the word Pindhari,* (p. 140).
Notes on some Anglo-Indian words (270, 361).

1901. *Date of Zinat-un-nissa's death.*

1904. *Jangnama of Sayyid Alim Ali Khan by Sudhist.*

1907. *Ahmad Shah Abdali and the Indian Wazir Imad-ul-mulk.*

1911. *Emperor Aurangzeb-Alamgir.*
[An abridged form of this paper has been printed in the *Encyclopædia of Islam,* Vol. I].

Asiatic Quarterly Review:

1894. *Political History of the Sikhs by contemporary writers,* [being *Later Mughals,* Ch. IV. sec. 19].

1897. Opinions on "Indian Civilian's" proposals.

Journal of the Moslem Institute:

Memoirs of Abdul-qadir Sabit Jang, (i. 258-266, 413-423 ; ii. 6-12, 108-133 ; iii. 11-27, 191-208 ; iv. 31-46, 131-153, 237-257 ; v. 7-27).

Imperial Gazetteer of India, 3rd ed. (1908), vol. ii. ch. 10.

North Indian Notes and Queries:

1893? Topographical inquiries—Jalalabad—visit to Kumaon.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society:

1896. *Mughal Army* (pp. 509-570).

1898. *Two corrections in Dr. Rieu's Catalogue* (p. 373).

1899. *James Fraser* (p. 214).

1903. *Note on Bibi Juliana and the Christians* (p. 355).
Jahangir's Autograph (p. 370). *Note on Niccolao Manucci and his 'Storia do Mogor'* (p. 723).
Note on J. R. Rivett-Carnac's article on Cup marks (p. 827).

1905. *The Baillie collection of Arabic and Persian MSS.*

1910. *Austin of Bordeaux* (p. 1343).

1911. *The Khatur or Khattar Tribe* (p. 217).

Book reviews : 1902 (p. 687), 1909 (p. 502), 1910 (pp. 183, 947).

AUTHOR'S FOREWORD

If this book cannot claim in the highest sense of the word the name of History, it is at least the result of some research and labour, things sadly required in Indian history as a preparatory clearing of the ground for more ambitious work. To me this heavy task has been its own exceeding great reward (the only one, I fear, ever likely to come to me) ; it has served to bridge over the period between active life and the first advances of old age, and through it I have failed to "feel the weight of too much liberty". At some future day the genius may arise who shall make these dead bones live ; and when in a foot-note this "Gibbon of the future" flings me a word of acknowledgment, I shall be satisfied. Meanwhile, the scenic artists, who deal in picturesque narrative and like to lay on the colours thick, may not disdain to appropriate something from my sober pages as a background for their adjectives ; while the official gazetteer-maker and the compiler of little books will be able to fill up many a meagre outline and correct much erroneous chronology. Some writer, if I remember rightly, complains that Indian historians are chary of dates ; if he will open my work, he will find out how wide this is of the truth. In fact he will, I fear, receive a surfeit of dates, many more, at any rate, than he will care to digest.

WILLIAM IRVINE



WILLIAM IRVINE.

THE LATER MUGHALS

CHAPTER I

BAHADUR SHAH

SEC. 1.—DEATH OF ALAMGIR: HIS CHILDREN.

After an illness of a few days Alamgir died in his camp at Ahmadnagar on the 28th Zul Qada 1118 A.H., corresponding to the 3rd March, 1707, *New Style*, in the 91st (lunar) year of his age and the 51st of his reign. The actual place of his death is probably denoted by the "Barahdari Aurangzeb's tomb," marked on the map between pp. 688 and 689 in *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. xvii. The place lies 2 miles n. e. of Ahmadnagar town.

Alamgir had five sons and five daughters.* The eldest son, Muhammad Sultan was born near Mathura on 4th Ramzan 1049 (30th Dec., 1639) and died on the 7th Shawwal 1087 (14th Dec., 1676), in the thirty-ninth year of his age and in the twentieth year of his father's reign. He left no issue. The fourth son it will only be necessary to mention. His name was Akbar, he was born on 11th Zul Hijja 1067 (21st Sept., 1657) and after rebelling and joining the Rajputs in 1681, he fled first to the Mahratta Court of Sambhaji and thence to Persia. He died at Mashhad on the 31st March, 1706.† At the Emperor's death there thus remained only three claimants for the throne, his second, third and fifth sons.

The second son Muhammad Muazzam was born at

* The dates concerning them are taken mostly from the *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, *Tarikh-i-Mdi* and Abdul Hamid's *Padishahnama*, with corrections by J. Sarkar.

† This date is given by the *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*. But, according to the *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 483 and 537, Akbar died in 1704. The date of his birth is given as 11th Zul Hijja by Kambu and as 12th by *Masir*,—a later compilation. [J. S.]

Burhanpur in the Dakhin on 30th Rajab 1053 (14th Oct., 1643). His mother, and the mother of the eldest son, Muhammad Sultan, was Nawab Bai, daughter of Rajah Raju, Rajah of Rajauri in Kashmir. She died at Dihli in 1691.

Muhammad Azam the third son was born of Dilras Banu Begam, daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan Safawi on the 12th Shaban, 1063 (9 July, 1653). He is usually styled *Ali-jah* and often Azam Tara.

The fifth and last son, Muhammad Kam Bakhsh, was born 10th Ramzan, 1077 (7th March, 1677). His mother was Bai Udipuri who died at Gwaliyar in June 1707, a few days after the defeat of Azam Shah by Bahadur Shah.

Of Alamgir's daughters, the eldest was Zeb-un-nissa Begam, born on the 10th Shawwal 1047 (26th Feb., 1637).* She died at Dihli, a State prisoner, in 1702, unmarried. She used to write poetry under the name of *Makhfi* or the Hidden.

The second daughter was Zinat-un-nissa Begam, born on the 1st Shaban 1053 (16 Oct. 1643), her mother being the daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan.

She took an active interest in the cause of her full brother Azam Shah, and after his defeat refused to be reconciled to Bahadur Shah. He conferred on her the title of Padshah Begam and sent her to end her days in Dihli. She died there on the 18th May 1721 at the age of eighty years.

Badr-un-nissa Begam, the third in order, was born of Nawab Bai on 29th Shawwal 1057 (28 November, 1647). She died on 28th Zul Qada 1080 (20th April, 1670) in the 13th year of the reign.

The fourth daughter Zubdat-un-nissa Begam was born on the 26th Ramzan 1061 (13 Sept. 1651). She died on the 17th Feb. 1707, less than a month before her father. She had been married to her cousin Sipihr Shukoh, son of Prince Dara Shukoh, by whom she had a son Ali Tabar who died a six month old infant in the end of 1676. (*T-i-Mhdi*).

---

* The *Masir-i-Alamgiri* (538) wrongly gives the year as 1048 A. H. Abdul Hamid's *Padishahnama* (ii. 22) gives the correct figure 1047 A. H. [J. S.]

Mihr-un-nissa Begam the fifth daughter was born of Aurangabadi Mahal on the 3rd Safar 1072 (29 Sep. 1661). She was married to Ezad Bakhsh, son of Prince Murad Bakhsh, and died on the 18th Zul Hijja 1117 (1st April, 1706), a year before her father.

MUHAMMAD MUAZZAM (SHAH ALAM)

After the imprisonment and death of his elder brother, Sultan Muhammad, the second son, Muhammad Muazzam, became heir-apparent. The latter, in the early part of his father's reign, from 1664, was actively employed in the Dakhin against the Mahrattas and the Muhammadan kingdom of Bijapur. In 1683-4 he commanded an army in the Konkan without much success and then served under his father at the siege of Golkonda. Aurangzeb's suspicious nature is sufficiently notorious: and his intrigues against his father had prepared him to expect a similar conduct on the part of his own children. More than twenty years before this period, Muhammad Muazzam had been suspected of intriguing for power at the time of his father's temporary illness. During the siege of Golkonda, some communications passed between Abul Hasan the ruler of that place and the Prince. These messages referred to a proposed intercession for peace to be made through Mhd. Muazzam. Aurangzeb assumed that they were of a disloyal nature and at once placed his son under arrest, (4th March, 1687.)*

Muhammad Muazzam was kept a prisoner for nearly seven years during the whole of which time he behaved with the utmost discretion, showing throughout the most complete outward humility and resignation. After applying various tests, Alamgir readmitted his son to partial favour. His two eldest sons Muizz-ud-din and Mhd. Azim were released and appointed to commands. In 1695 Muhammad Muazzam (styled in his father's lifetime *Shah Alam*) was himself released, and on the

* The story of his Konkan expedition and arrest is told, with references to authorities, in Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib*, vol. iv. ch. 44 and 47. The story of the relaxation of his captivity, in Khafi Khan, ii. 397-398, 404, 407-418, 437, 443 and *M.A.* 335, 341-351, 370-373. [J.S.]

9th Shawwal 1106 (24th May 1695) sent as governor to Akbarabad. He passed one year (up to 24th July 1696) in Agra, proceeding thence to Lahor, Multan and Uch. On the death of Amir Khan, the *subahdar* of Kabul, he assumed the government of that province, reaching the city of Kabul on 4th June 1699 after a march by way of Jhang, Peshawar, the Khaibar Pass, Jalalabad and Jagdalak. For eight years the hot season was spent in Kabul and the cold weather at Jalalabad or Peshawar or in marches through the country. On the 25th Nov. 1706 he pitched his camp at Jamrud twelve miles west of Peshawar and he was still there when he heard first of the illness and then of the death of his father at Ahmadnagar in the Dakhin. The Prince's two youngest sons Rafi-ul-qadr and Khujista-Akhtar were then with him, the eldest Muizz-ud-din was at Multan, and the second Muhammad Azim on his way from his Government in Bihar to his grandfather's camp in the Dakhin.*

AZAM SHAH

Alamgir's second surviving son, Azam Shah, had for many years looked on himself as his father's destined successor. It may be surmised that he was not altogether without his share in the intrigues which led Alamgir to distrust and at length imprison the elder son Muhammad Muazzam. In any case Azam Shah used the opportunity offered by his brother's long removal from power to increase his own authority and influence. In 1701 he was appointed to the Government of Ahmadabad Gujarat and sent to administer that province in person. There he acquired considerable wealth and increased the numbers of his armed force. In 1706 his father reluctantly permitted him to return to the imperial head-quarters, the Prince's eldest son Bidar Bakht being transferred from Malwa to Ahmadabad as his father's deputy. It was not long before quarrels arose between Azam Shah and his youngest brother Muhammad Kam Bakhsh. His jealousy was also aroused by the independent position and the rumoured wealth of Prince Muhammad Azim, second son

* Jagjivandas, *f.* 37-51. The earlier dates have been corrected by a reference to the official history, *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 373, 382, 374. [J.S.]

of Muhammad Muazzam, who had been *subahdar* of Bengal and Bihar for some years. One of Alamgir's last acts was to recall this grandson from Azimabad Patna, at the instigation of Muhammad Azam. As we shall see presently, this very act turned out to have a most disastrous influence upon Azam Shah's own future.*

MUHAMMAD KAM BAKHSH

Alamgir had felt that his end was approaching, and he foresaw that if his two sons Azam Shah and Kam Bakhsh were left together his death would be the signal for instant hostilities. The Mahrattas were, at the time giving great trouble in the vicinity of the imperial camp, and any dispute among the claimants to the crown would provide them with an opportunity of which they would not be slow to avail themselves. Further, as is usual with fathers, Alamgir was fonder of his youngest than of his other sons. Kam Bakhsh was therefore appointed to be *subahdar* of Bijapur and on the 16th February 1707 set out for the south with Hasam Khan (Mir Mallang) who had been recently named as his chief adviser, accompanied by a large body of Mughal troops under the command of one of their chief men, Muhammad Amin Khan. Kam Bakhsh was directed to march to his destination with all possible expedition.†

A few days afterwards Azam Shah was told by his father that as his deputy in Malwa was not capable of suppressing the disturbances in that province, he must proceed to it in person. Mace-bearers with strict orders were deputed to urge on his departure. He left the imperial quarters on the 22nd February 1707 and marched northwards, but without making very rapid progress. In four marches he had only reached the bank of the river Godavari about 40 miles from his father's camp. [Kamwar Kh.]

ALAMGIR'S WILL

The story goes that Alamgir left a will with directions for his own burial and for the partition of the Empire between his

* *Mas.-Alamgiri*, 442, 496, 512, 520; K. K. ii. 516, 518, 541, 546-'7.
† K. K. ii. 547, *M.A.* 520, *Dil.* 158*a*.

three sons. It is said that it was found by Hamid-ud-din Khan, head of the household, under the Emperor's pillow.* As the terms of the will accord with the measures taken by the Emperor giving his three sons the provinces that he had assigned to them in his lifetime, it may be assumed to be authentic. Its terms were also appealed to afterwards by Muhammad Muazzam (Bahadur Shah) when he wrote to his brother, Azam Shah, offering him a compromise. This will is a little vague but its substance may be thus stated. It entreats his successors to leave Kam Bakhsh unmolested, should he content himself with the two new provinces, that is, Bijapur and Haidarabad. Amir-ul-umara, that is Asad Khan, his *Wazir*, is recommended as *Wazir*. Of the two capitals, Agra and Dihli, one should be taken by each son. With the city of Agra should go the province belonging to it, the Dakhin *subahs*, Malwa and Ahmadabad Gujarat ; and with the city of Dihli, the country of Kabul and all the remaining provinces. There is an injunction to be true and faithful to Azam Shah, and this seems to conflict somewhat with the supposed impartiality of the testament, but as Azam Shah, in spite of this declaration in his favour, declined to be bound by the other provisions of the will, the suspicion that he might have drawn up the document for his own benefit must fall to the ground.

Taking the provinces and the revenue in *dam*, (forty to the Rupee) as stated by James Fraser† the proposed distribution would have given the following results :—

Bahadur Shah,	12 Subahs	...	5,175,956,440 dam
Azam Shah,	6 Subahs	...	4,704,255,400 dam
Kam Bakhsh,	2 Subahs	...	2,191,665,000 dam
	20 Subahs	...	12,071,876,840 dam

* Khafi Khan, ii. 549, Kamwar Kh. A copy of the will had reached Surat as early as 18 Oct. 1707, (Valentyn, iv. 274.) [The will making a partition of the Empire and alleged to have been found under his pillow after his death, is given in Br. Mus. Addl. 18,881, *f.* 76 *b*, and I.O.L. MS. 1344, *f.* 49 *b*. A different one, containing directions about his burial and instructions for his successor, is given in Hamid-ud-din's *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri*, text edited by me, pp. 12-14, with an Eng. trans. J. S.]

† *Nadir Shah*, p. 34. A translation of the will is given on pp. 36-37

SEC. 2.—MEASURES TAKEN ON ALAMGIR'S DEATH.

As soon as the Emperor had breathed his last, the Wazir, Asad Khan, known as Amir-ul-umara, sent for all the nobles. He bound them by oaths to act in union while Sarbarah Khan the *kotwal* or officer in charge of the camp police was sent out to preserve order. Meanwhile the Qazi-ul-qazzat with other learned and holy men prepared the body for the tomb. Letters were sent in all haste to Prince Azam Shah by Asad Khan and by the Prince's sister, Zinat-un-nissa, requesting him to return without a moment's delay. [Kamwar, *Jangnama*].

On the second night after the Emperor's death Azam Shah arrived, accompanied by a few of his chief men. He was met and escorted in by all the nobles, except Asad Khan and Hamid-ud-din Khan, who were engaged within the imperial enclosure (*gulal-bar*) in guarding the corpse and performing ceremonies of mourning. The nobles proffered the usual condolences and congratulations. Azam Shah wept when he first saw his father's corpse, and in the presence of such old and faithful servants as Hamid-ud-din Khan and Amir Khan, called aloud his father's name like the poor do when they mourn. On the 6th March 1707 the body was sent off in charge of Hamid-ud-din Khan to Daulatabad, about 10 miles north-west of Aurangabad, and there buried, as Alamgir had requested, in the courtyard surrounding the tomb of the saint Shaikh Zain-ul-haq, Azam Shah assisting to carry the bier as far as the principal entrance of the camp. The tomb is about 4 miles west of Daulatabad. It has a platform of red stone 3 *gaz* long and 2½ *gaz* wide. The place was named Khuldabad, and Bahadur Shah allotted several villages yielding a revenue of Rs. 50,000 a year from parganas in sarkar Daulatabad, for the feeding of the poor and other expenses. In 1121 these villages were formed into a new pargana called Khuldabad. [Iradat ; K. K. ii. 566, 649 ; Kamwar ; M.M. 7.]

The funeral ceremonies being completed and the first days

---

of this book. The Persian text is also contained in Fraser MS. 118= Bodleian No. 1923, *f.* 13*a*.

of mourning having elapsed, Azam Shah on the 10th Zul Hijja 1118 (14th March 1707), the *Id-uz-zuha,* ascended the throne with the usual ceremonial. In the tent used as public audience hall a pulpit was erected, whence Shaikh Abdul Khaliq read the *khutba,* or public prayer for the sovereign's welfare, in the name of Azam Shah, by the style and title of Abul-fayaz, Qutb-ud-din, Muhammad Azam Shah, Ghazi. The chief officials and commanders, nearly all of whom were present with the late Emperor in camp, submitted to Azam Shah in a body. Some were really attached to him, such as Mutallib Khan, Tarbiyat Khan, Amanatullah Khan and some others. The rest were indifferent. The leaders of the Mughals, however, a very important and influential body, held aloof, Ghazi-ud-din Khan Firuz Jang, then *subahdar* of Berar and his son Chin Qilich Khan (afterwards Nizam-ul-mulk) evaded taking part in the approaching campaign ; while Muhammad Amin Khan, cousin of Firuz Jang, although he deserted Kam Bakhsh and started for Hindustan with Azam Shah, did not proceed further than a stage or two beyond Burhanpur and thence returned to the Dakhin. Azam Shah was in reality angry at Khan Firuz Jang's refusal to march with him, but thought it wisest to dissemble, and at that chief's request appointed him to the charge of the Aurangabad province and his son, Chin Qilich Khan, to that of Burhanpur. [Iradat 11, K. K. ii. 566, M.M. 8, *Dil.* 162*b*, Kamwar, *Jangnama.*]

One story [*Masir-ul-umara,* ii. 877] is, that when Zulfiqar Khan joined near Aurangabad, Azam Shah asked him for advice. "Leave your wives and family at Daulatabad, as Alamgir did," replied Zulfiqar Khan, "and give them money for the expenditure of two months. Do not march by the pass of Fardapur but by that of Dewal Ghat, thus giving Khan Firuz Jang a chance of joining." The Prince, in his usual haughty way, said that if there were a real enemy in front, it would be right to leave his family behind. But Muazzam's character was well known ; he was not another Dara Shukoh. His (Azam Shah's) own special troops were sufficient ; those of the late Emperor were of no use, except to shout *Mubarak* and *Salamat.* Why should he leave his direct road for the

sake of obtaining the aid of a blind man? [Khan Firuz Jang had been totally blind for twenty years.]

From the beginning great dissatisfaction was caused by the Prince's refusal to give promotion or grants of money. A great number of personal favourites, new and untried men, were brought into the service much to the disgust of the older officers. The late Emperor's Wazir, even, Asad Khan, was so pressed by his soldiers for their pay,* that it was only by a loan of a lakh of Rupees from Chin Qilich Khan that he was able to appease them.

As Asad Khan and his son Zulfiqar Khan (at Alamgir's death away on duty in the south beyond the Krishna†) play a principal part in Azam Shah's contest for sovereignty and continue to be important personages until the accession of Muhammad Farrukh-siyar, it will be well to give here some account of them. Asad Khan (Md. Ibrahim) was the son of Zulfiqar Khan Qaramanlu who took refuge in India from the enmity of the sovereign of Iran. Asad Khan was born about 1631 and entered the imperial service in the 27th year of Shah Jahan (1654). In Alamgir's reign he was long second *Bakhshi*, then deputy of the Wazir from the 13th year (1670), and in the 19th year (1676) was himself made Wazir. From the 27th year (1684) he served continuously in the Dakhin. His son Zulfiqar Khan (Md. Ismail) was born in 1657, his mother being Mihr-un-nissa Begam, daughter of Asaf Khan, Yamin-ud-daulah. He was thus highly connected on the mother's side. He received his first appointment in the 11th year of Alamgir (1668) and in 1677 married the daughter of Shaista Khan the Amir-ul-umara. At the same time he received the title of Itiqad Khan. In 1689 A.D., as a reward for taking the fort of Raheri and along with it the sons of Sambha Mahratta and his whole family, he was made Zulfiqar Khan. In 1698 he took the Mahratta stronghold of Jinji and was made Nusrat Jang; and in 1702 he succeeded Bahramand Khan as Mir Bakhshi. His

---

* During the last decade of Aurangzib's reign, his soldiers' pay used to be usually in arrears for three years. [J. S.]

† *Dil.* 158*a.* and *b.* [J. S.]

last service had been the bringing of reinforcements in 1705, when Alamgir was sore pressed during the siege of Wakinkhera fort which was held by Parya Naik. But envious tongues raised doubts in Alamgir's suspicious mind by repeating the gossip of the camp and by quoting, in allusion to Zulfiqar Khan's title, the saying "There is no young man like Ali and no sword like Zulfiqar" (Ali's sword). To counteract this supposed pre-eminence, Alamgir forthwith began to promote nobles of the Turani party. But at the Emperor's death these two men Asad Khan and Zulfiqar Khan were incontestably the first in the Empire both in rank and influence. They threw in their lot with Azam Shah. [*M.U.* i. 310, ii. 93 *et seq.*]

MUHAMMAD KAM BAKHSH AND HIS MOVEMENTS

As already stated, Kam Bakhsh had marched for Bijapur a short time before his father's death. His escort consisted of Mughal troops under the command of Muhammad Amin Khan and others. The Prince had not got beyond Parenda, about 75 miles south-east of Ahmadnagar, when he heard of his father's death. The Mughul leaders and their men left him without asking his permission, and returned to Ahmadnagar to join Azam Shah. This led to the plunder of much of the Prince's baggage. In great disorder he hastened on till he was within sight of Bijapur. [K. K. 569 ; Kamwar.]

For several days Sayyid Niyaz Khan, nephew and deputy of the late subahdar, Chin Qilich Khan, kept the fort gates closed, and made difficulties about delivering possession. After two weeks a settlement was come to and Niyaz Khan gave up the fort. The Prince took up his quarters within it. Some say that while the Prince was still encamped outside Bijapur, Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat Jang, who had been in pursuit of the Mahrattas, and was only a few miles away, on hearing of Alamgir's death, conceived the project of capturing Kam Bakhsh and delivering him to Azam Shah. [Kamwar ; Iradat 12.] There was an old quarrel between Prince Kam Bakhsh and Zulfiqar Khan dating from the time of the siege of Jinji in the year 1693. This idea was only abandoned in deference to the advice of Rao Dalpat Bundela, an old and experienced

man highly esteemed by Zulfiqar Khan. The Khan resumed his march and joined Azam Shah and that Prince, though so much stronger, did not interfere with his younger brother's independence. By some accounts Kam Bakhsh wished to join his brother but his offer was refused. Meanwhile Kam Bakhsh assumed all the attributes of independent sovereignty, granted rank (*mansab*) and titles (*khitab*) appointed a minister and other chief officers of state, assumed the regal style of *Dinpanah*, 'Defender of the Faith', and coined money in his own name. [K. K. 569-570.]

SEC. 3.—AZAM SHAH'S MARCH TO HINDUSTAN.

After his enthronement Azam Shah issued coin with the inscription

Sikkah zad dar jahan ba daulat o jah
Padshah-i-mamalik Azam Shah.

"Coin was struck in the world with fortune and dignity by the Emperor of the kingdoms, Azam Shah."

Some advised that Kam Bakhsh's pretensions should be first dealt with. Azam Shah held the enterprise of Muazzam Shah to be threatening, though even this rival would hardly require more than a stick to beat him. A number of appointments and promotions were made before leaving Ahmadnagar. On the 17th March, 1707, the advance tents were sent on, and on the 2nd April, after eleven days' march and five days of halt, Aurangabad was reached. Much of the many stores and many of the artificers were left behind at Aurangabad. One day's rest was taken, the tombs of Alamgir, the Prince's father, of his mother and of the saint Burhan-ud-din were visited, and a short prayer (*fatiha*) recited at each. On the 3rd April 1707 the march was resumed, and on the 24th April the army arrived at Burhanpur, having covered fifty-six and a half *kos* in eighteen marches with four halts. [Kamraj, *f.* 78 *a* ; K. K. 571.]

At Aurangabad the Prince was joined by Zulfiqar Khan and Tarbiyat Khan, former Mir Atash or Commander of the Artillery, who before the late Emperor's death had been sent o drive away the Mahrattas. Rao Dalpat Bundela, Rao Ram

Singh Hada and other of the officers serving under these generals were presented. But from the manner in which things were conducted, Zulfiqar Khan refrained in great measure from any interference in public business ; in fact, he and his father Asad Khan had done their best to persuade Azam Shah to leave them behind in the Dakhin ; while Chin Qilich Khan on the pretext that his presence was required in his new Governments of Aurangabad and Khandesh quitted the army. [Kamwar, *Dil.* 161*b*.]

Azam Shah left Burhanpur on the 25th April, 1707 and, instead of the usual and open route by the Akbarpur ferry, [on the Narmada] he bore to the right and adopted as being shorter the more difficult road across Pandhar to the Tomri Pass,* long, narrow and entirely waterless. In the two marches through that pass numbers of the poorer men and women died from want of water. Grain was also very dear ; and it was with difficulty that a bullock's skin of muddy water could be procured even at the price of fifteen Rupees. [Kamraj, *f.* 92*b* ; Iradat 12 ; *Dil.* 162*b*-163*b*.] Further confusion arose from the withdrawal of Muhammad Amin Khan and all his troops, while the army was passing through the defile under the supervision of Rao Dalpat Bundela. It was reported to Azam Shah, as soon as he had reached Pandhar, a place six *kos* from Burhanpur, that the men of Muhammad Amin Khan, who was in command of the rear-guard, had commenced to plunder the stragglers. A great outcry was raised in the Prince's presence by the tradespeople and poorer camp-followers. Azam Shah became very angry, sent for Muhammad Amin Khan, and addressed him in strong language. Muhammad Amin Khan made excuses at the time, and he was left in charge of the rear-guard. It had been obvious from the first that he was not hearty in the cause, he had acted without vigour and had betrayed ill-will whenever he dared. The next day, when the army had reached the village of Daudnagar, Muhammad Amin Khan loitered six or

* *Tumri*, in Bhopal State, about 16 m. north of Nimawar, which is opposite Handia on the Narmada.

seven miles in the rear of the column and thence without leave or notice turned and made off for Burhanpur. He was followed by many of the soldiers raised in the Dakhin. On his way he plundered the convoys of supplies coming from Burhanpur. Many offers to pursue the fugitive were made, but all were rejected owing to Azam Shah's eagerness to press on.* Some said that the true reason for this desertion was that Azam Shah having given up the prayers of the *Jamaat*, he had fallen under the suspicion of being a Shiah†; but it is hardly necessary to search for any special explanation of Muhammad Amin Khan's conduct. It was, no doubt, governed entirely then as always by a regard for his own interest. [Kamraj ; *Dil.*, 162*b* ; Kamwar.]

During the whole of this time no word had reached Azam Shah as to the plans or movements of his elder brother Muhammad Muazzam. Azam Shah made up his mind, however, before he had left Burhanpur that he would make for Agra. At the time the reasons for so doing must have seemed very weighty. The subahdar of Agra, Mukhtar Khan, was father-in-law to Bidar Bakht, the Prince's eldest son, while Baqi Khan commander of the fortress and Ali Sher, the *kotwal* or Police officer of the city, were both known to be favourable to the Prince. In the fortress of Agra were stored the accumulations of several reigns, and whoever could first possess himself of these was likely to overcome his opponent. For neither side had means of their own for carrying on a long campaign.

* All that he said was "He who is coming, let him come, and he who is not coming let him stay away, our trust is in the Master and not in his slaves." [Khush-hal Chand, 366*b*.]

† The accusation of heterodoxy seems to have had some truth in it. Khush-hal Chand (366*b*) attributes the change to the influence of one Mhd. Amin Khan, the Prince's librarian. [Probably identical with the Mir Mhd. Amin (Sharf Khan) a learned man and confidant of Azam, killed at Jajau. *T-i-Mhdi.*] Half his army was made up of Shiahs. Mirza Muhammad (39*a*) says, "Azam Shah was suspected of being a Shiah. For this cause men of Mawar-al-nahr, nay all the Sunnis, objected to his succession, although he had *Jurat* and *Khalk-i-adalat* on which sovereignty is founded."

Bidar Bakht, the eldest son of Azam Shah, was at Ahmadabad when he heard of his grandfather's death. He wrote at once to his father proposing, with his approval, to raise troops and march by way of Ajmer straight to Agra and bar the road of the opposite side. At first Azam Shah assented and sent a *farman* to his son under the style of Bidar Shah. Abdullah Khan, deputy governor of Malwa, who had a large force, was ordered to join the Prince. On receipt of the *farman* Bidar Bakht raised 2,000 men, conferred robes of honour on his chief men, as his father had directed, while Wazarat Khan, his *diwan*, distributed money to the troops. The Prince then started from Ahmadabad. [Kamraj, 69*a*.]

Unfortunately Azam Shah was jealous of his eldest son and had long suspected him of plots for his (Azam Shah's) supersession. This feeling had been intensified by one of the last acts of Alamgir. Annoyed by the overbearing conduct of Azam Shah, Alamgir as soon as Azam Shah had departed for Malwa, wrote a letter in his own hand to his grandson, Bidar Bakht, then at Ahmadabad, complaining that Azam Shah had given as much trouble as he ought to have given assistance. Bidar Bakht must, he wrote, make the greatest possible haste to head-quarters. This letter was received when Bidar Bakht was in the Jama Masjid of Ahmadabad. In obedience thereto he marched 4 or 5 miles out of Ahmadabad and then wrote a reply to that effect to his grandfather. This reply fell into Azam Shah's hands when he took possession of his father's property. The estrangement between the father and son was now greater than ever. As the proverb says, "An enemy inside the house is worse than one outside." [*M. U.* iii. 659 ; Kamwar.]

Wala-jah, Azam Shah's second son, proposed to his father the capture of Agra, where all the treasures of the Empire were buried. It was hinted that Bidar Bakht, if he obtained the start, might on reaching Agra take possession of all the treasure and turn his arms against his father. Fresh orders were therefore issued to him. He was now ordered not to enlist men but to join his father at Gwaliyar. Bidar Bakht, although he lamented the evil advice his father had received, disbanded

his troops and started to join his father. He reached Shahjahanpur in Malwa on the 5th April, 1707. In this neighbourhood as that of Ujjain he waited one month and twenty days for the arrival of Azam Shah. On the way he had been joined by Rajah Jai Singh of Amber.*

On the 14th May, 1707 Azam Shah, after seventeen days of marching and one day's halt, reached Sironj, a distance of more than 114 *kos* from Burhanpur. The suffering from heat and want of water had been very great and the Grasiyahs or jungle tribes plundered every man that they could lay hold upon. From Sironj a force of some 4,500 men under Zulfiqar Khan, Rao Dalpat Bundela, Rao Ram Singh, Ahmad, Said Khan Barha and others was sent on to reinforce Bidar Bakht, who now advanced by his father's orders towards Gwaliyar, in order to seize the fords on the Chambal river. At Sironj Azam Shah heard that Muazzam Shah had reached Lahor.†

From Sironj Azam Shah hastened on to Gwaliyar, the sufferings from heat and bad water continuing to be most terrible. When he had reached Sarai Imak, fifteen *kos* from Gwaliyar, two messengers arrived from Bidar Bakht's direction with the information that Prince Muhammad Azim, second son of Muhammad Muazzam, had already reached Agra and had sent on Muhtashim Khan with 7,000 horse and a strong force of artillery to occupy the fords over the Chambal, while Muhammad Muazzam in person with his three sons had entered Agra and taken possession of the fort. Much disturbed by this intelligence, the first that had been received of Muazzam Shah's progress beyond Lahor, Azam Shah deposited the greater part of his baggage in Sarai Imak and made a forced march into Gwaliyar, which he reached on the 11th June, 1707. [Kamwar ; *Siyar* ; *Dil.* 163*a*.]

SEC. 4.—PRINCE MUHAMMAD AZIM (SECOND SON OF MUHAMMAD MUAZZAM) REACHES AGRA.

As we have already stated Alamgir, a short time before his death, influenced by suspicion instilled into him by Azam

* Kamraj, *f.* 84; Iradat 16; Khush-hal Chand, 367*a*.

† Kamraj, Kamwar, *Dil.* 162*b*.

Shah, recalled his grandson, Muhammad Azim, from the Government of the province of Bihar. In compliance with this order that Prince took with him treasure remitted from Bengal and started from Azimabad Patna, intending apparently to make his way to the Dakhin through Agra. The more direct road was possibly unsafe, at any rate it was seldom used by the Muhammadan generals, who usually went from Hindustan to the Dakhin either from Agra through Gwaliyar or from Dihli through Ajmer. The Prince was 'at Shahzadpur [sarkar Korah] in the Ganges-Jamuna Duab when he heard of his grandfather's death. By the advice of Agha Muhammad Said Baz Khan (brother of Daler Khan) and others, he enlisted more troops and advanced as quickly as possible in the direction of Agra at the head of more than 20,000 horse. At Itawah Khair-Andesh Khan presented himself with treasure and artillery. [K. K. 576, Kamwar 9, *Jangnama*, Kamraj 17.]

Muhammad Azim called upon Mukhtar Khan, the subahdar of Agra, to come out of the city and present himself. Mukhtar Khan, being father-in-law to Bidar Bakht, Azam Shah's eldest son, was naturally a strong partisan of the opposite party. The only hostile step, however, that he took was to prevent a bridge being thrown across the Jamuna ; but the river being fordable in many places, this did not avail him anything, and Muhammad Azim with his army and baggage crossed in safety. After this feeble defence Mukhtar Khan lost his presence of mind and became afraid to do anything. The Prince sent Baz Khan and other officers into the city to arrest him, at the same time confiscating all his treasures, elephants, horses and goods. In the end Mukhtar Khan came over to Bahadur Shah's side and was presented through Baz Khan [Kamraj 17, *Jangnama.*]

Baqi Khan *Qul*, commandant of the Agra fort, was also summoned to surrender, to open the gates of the fort and to make over its contents to the men deputed for that purpose. Baqi Khan, who like Mukhtar Khan was favourable to Azam Shah, invented the excuse that the rival claimant had not yet arrived in person, and until this happened he could not make over the fort to any one. Moreover, up to this time the

prospects of Azam Shah were commonly held to be far better than those of his brother, Muhammad Muazzam. Baqi Khan's refusal incensed Prince Muhammad Azim who erected batteries in the grove lying below the mansion known as Dara Shukoh's, on the top of the Jama Masjid and over the triple gate (*tripoliya*) of the city, intending to frighten the garrison by a cannonade and the discharge of rockets. On his side Baqi Khan pointed his guns and posted his musketmen ready for resistance. His first shot struck the three-domed building in the marketplace (*chauk*) and destroyed its domes, the second killed many men and fell on the gate of the mosque, the third reached the mansion of Dara Shukoh and knocked down a wall in one of its rooms. Several of Muhammad Azim's men were killed, and he then desisted from any further attack on the fort. A truce of twenty days was agreed on and Muhammad Azim awaited his father's arrival, his force having swollen now to 40,000 men. [Kamwar 9 ; Kamraj 18 ; K. K. 576 ; Qasim 6-7 ; *Jangnama* ; Khush-hal Chand 368 *b*.]

BIDAR BAKHT ADVANCES TO THE CHAMBAL

Prince Muhammad Azim, as already stated, immediately on entering Agra sent forward a body of troops under Muhtashim Khan to protect the fords on the Chambal river forty miles south of that place. After reaching Dholpur Muhtashim Khan established batteries on the river bank on the north side of the stream and prepared to fight. He also called upon Jan Nisar Khan (Khwaja Mukarram) Bahadur-Shahi, the *faujdar* of Gwaliyar, to march and join him. At this time, Bidar Bakht had advanced beyond Gwaliyar and was one march from the Chambal. His camp was fixed at Nurabad. [*Dil.* 163.]

Bidar Bakht* now resolved to cross the Chambal and attack Muhtashim Khan. Zulfiqar Khan, a more experienced soldier,

* When Bidar Bakht was encamped at Palaichah, six *kos* from Narwar, Zulfiqar Khan and his reinforcements had come up with him. [*Dil.* 163*a*] *Nurabad*, 16 m. north of Gwaliyar and 20 m. south of the Chambal. [*Indian Atlas*, sheet 51 N.E.]

was opposed to this course. The resulting quarrel between the Prince and his chief general is told in the most lively fashion in the pages of Iradat Khan. The trivial causes from which such disputes arise, the way in which mere suspicion is fanned into certainty by crafty advisers, the great man's petulance and childishness, the sudden changes of temper—all is painted to the very life. In the end Bidar Bakht obtained his own way and crossed the river by the ford through unguarded passages. Upon this Muhtashim Khan and his troops abandoned their artillery and fled during the night to Agra, glad to save their lives. The movement having succeeded Zulfiqar Khan made his peace and was received again into favour. Bidar Bakht would have liked to push on to Agra, but formal orders were now received to halt at Dholpur, until Azam should arrive there in person, when he would distribute the commands and arrange the various stations to be taken by the different bodies of troops. We must now leave Azam Shah and turn to the movements of his elder brother, Muhammad Muazzam. [Kamraj 17-19, Iradat 20-26, *Dil.* 163.]

SEC. 5.—THE ADVANCE OF MUHAMMAD MUAZZAM TO LAHOR, DIHLI AND AGRA.

It was at Jamrud, twelve miles west of Peshawar, that Muhammad Muazzam heard of his father's death. The date was the 22nd March, 1707, only twenty days after the event, an instance of the speed with which intelligence could be carried, the distance from Ahmadnagar to Jamrud being about 1,400 miles, and the average distance travelled by the messengers being thus seventy miles a day. It was now a race between the competitors for the throne. Whoever could first reach Agra or Dihli and obtain the wealth stored at one or both cities, would be almost certain to overpower his rival. In such an emergency the usual dilatory movements of an Indian army would be useless. We have seen with what haste Azam advanced from the Dakhin. Muhammad Muazzam was now to display equal if not greater activity. The distances to be traversed were from Ahmadnagar to Agra about 700 miles, from Jamrud to Agra about 715 miles. The general opinion was that all the chances

were in favour of Azam Shah's arriving first and winning the prize. [K. K. 577, Kamwar 7.]

During the last years of his father's lifetime Muhammad Muazzam, in whom there must have been great power of dissimulation, had given out that if Azam Shah claimed the throne he would make no attempt to contend with him but would at once seek a refuge in Persian territory or elsewhere. But the truth was that he had made secret preparations in concert with Munim Khan, *diwan* of Kabul, to assert his claims without a moment's delay. Munim Khan had secured the Prince's confidence and had on his recommendation been made *naib subahdar* of Lahor. Here he worked busily to collect the means of war, and for a year had been in the field with an army beyond the Bias and even the Satlaj, on the pretext of a rebellion by Inayat Khan and other [robber zamindars] of the [Jalandhar] *Duaba* and *Qasba* of Talwan.* Camels, oxen to drag the cannon, and other means of transport with boats for making bridges across the rivers had been silently collected in readiness in the country between Lahor and Peshawar. Rao Budh Singh Hada of Bundi and Bijai Singh Kachhwaha, who had taken refuge with Bahadur Shah at Kabul were conciliated, and through them there were enlisted a large number of Rajputs, who joined the standard just about the time of Alamgir's death [Khush-hal Chand, 367*a*]. Everything was ready, the signal only was awaited. [Iradat ; K. K. 573 ; Qasim 8.]

On the 31st March 1707, Muhammad Muazzam reached Peshawar with his two youngest sons Rafi-ul-qadr and Khujista-Akhtar. A congratulatory letter was received from Munim Khan, governor of Lahor. Orders were issued to the Prince's eldest son Muizz-ud-din, subahdar of Tattha and Multan, to join at Lahor, with his eldest son Azz-ud-din. Other leading men were also summoned. The march was resumed after one day and the Indus was crossed, by means of the boats collected by Munim Khan, a bridge which usually was made in two

* Mr. Irvine had read the word as *Malun* and left a query '*Malot* of *Ain* ii. 317?' On referring to the Persian text I adopt the reading *Talwan*. [J. Sarkar.]

months being put together in two days. On reaching Pul-i-Shah Daulah, twelve *kos* north of Lahor, Muhammad Muazzam celebrated his accession and took the title of Bahadur Shah, by which name henceforth we will refer to him. Homage was paid by all the lords and great officials of the Panjab headed by Munim Khan. On the 1st Safar 1119 (3rd May, 1707) crossing the Ravi by a bridge Bahadur Shah entered Lahor, visiting there the tomb of the saint Shaikh Abul Hasan and the home of Shah Ramzi a holy man. Muizz-ud-din, the Prince's eldest son, had now arrived from Multan and Bahadur Shah with his three sons, Muizz-ud-din, Rafi-ul-qadr, and Khujista-Akhtar, rested in the garden of Shalimar, which is situated four miles from Lahor on the road to Amritsar. The interval was devoted to preparing a new coinage, the inspection of the treasure and stores in the fort at Lahor, and the conferring of increased rank on the Princes and chief leaders. Munim Khan here received the new title of Khan Zaman, a set of drums, and the promise of being appointed Wazir. [K. K. 573-'5 ; Qasim 8 ; *Dil.* 164*a*.]

Taking twenty-eight lakhs of Rupees with him, Bahadur Shah left Lahor on the 5th May 1707. At Sarhind the *faujdar*, Wazir Khan, contributed eight lakhs from the revenue that he had collected. On the way much munition of war was brought in to Khanazad Khan, the son of Munim, by Mirza Asadullah, *faujdar* of Sonipat. Dihli was reached on the 1st June 1707. Munim Khan, preceding the army and accompanied by Sayyid Amjad Khan (Bu Ali) then *Bakhshi* and *Waqia-nigar* of Dihli, had an interview with Muhammad Yar Khan, the subahdar of Dihli who sent back his son, Hasan Yar Khan, with the keys of the fort and the usual offerings in token of submission. On entering the city shrines were visited and alms distributed. A sum of thirty lakhs of Rupees was taken from the treasure-house in the fort, and after visits to the shrine of Khwaja Qutb-ud-din and of Nizam-ud-din Auliya (surnamed Sultan-ul-mashaikh), on the 3rd June the journey was resumed. On the 12th June, the day that Azam Shah reached Gwaliyar, Bahadur Shah arrived near Agra. He was met by Mukhtar Khan, the late subahdar, Jan Nisar Khan, *faujdar* of Gwaliyar, and other officials of the province. Baqi Khan *Qul*, commandant of the Agra fort, also

sent a letter of submission with the keys of the fortress, stating that if Munim Khan would come alone he would make over the place to him. Accordingly Munim Khan entered by a narrow plank placed over the deep ditch and leading to a wicket gate. After a short rest, he sealed up the treasury and posted his own men at the gates. The Emperor's camp was pitched close to Bagh Dahr-Ara.* [K. K. 576-577 ; Kamwar 9 ; Jagjivan ; *Dil.* 164*a* ; Iradat ; Yahya 112*b*-113*a*.]

It is said that, in spite of Alamgir's costly campaigns in the Dakhin which lasted for the last twenty-five years of his reign, twenty-four krors, or as some say thirteen krors gold and silver, coined and uncoined, collected during the four previous reigns, were found stored in the fort at Agra. Four krors were brought out and of this sum two krors were distributed at once, three lakhs to each of the three Princes with the Emperor, three lakhs to Munim Khan and his sons, one lakh to the Barha Sayyids, one lakh to Aghar Khan and his Mughals. On the same scale all those who had joined received their shares. Munim Khan's titles were again increased and the divisions of the army were set in order. [K. K. 578.]

Bahadur Shah's Letter to Azam Shah and the Latter's Reply.

From Mathura, while on his way from Dihli to Agra, Bahadur Shah sent to Azam Shah a letter by the hand of a holy man Mir Abd-ul-Karim, "the patch-wearer." He reminded his brother that their father had made a division of the Empire, allotting to him as second son the four provinces of the Dakhin. If this did not content him he might take Gujarat and Ajmer in addition. In this way they would avoid the sin of spilling the

---

* It is at Poyah Ghat, close to Sultanganj (*Tarikh-i-Agra*, p. 31, lithographed, Husaini Press, Fathgarh.) There seem to be two Baghs at Agra with somewhat similar names, *Bagh Dahra* and *Bagh Dahr-Ara*. The former is also called *Nur Manzil* (same work, p. 28) and possesses a large well which is the only thing now left. It is called the 'well of the 52 water bags' (*Bawan lao ki kua*). The site is 3 miles *south* of the fort, it is now within the cantonments, and is called Khawas-pura (Mirza Vikar Ali Beg's letter of 20 Feb. 1893). The name of Nur Manzil was given it with reference to the Emperor Jahangir's name Nur-ud-din Mhd. (*M. U.*, iii. 79.)

blood of God's creatures. Some say that Bahadur Shah added that if this offer was not accepted, he was willing to meet his brother in single combat and leave it for the sword to decide.

These proposals only served to further incense Azam Shah against the *Banya,* his favourite nickname for his elder brother. His answer was that a kingdom was not a thing which could be divided like an inheritance. His brother, although a learned and well-read man seemed to have forgotten the verses in Shaikh Sadi Shirazi's *Gulistan* which every schoolboy knows, "Ten poor men can sleep comfortably under one blanket, while two kings cannot be contained within one kingdom." How could two swords be kept in one scabbard? Further, if a division was to be made, it should be an equal one. Was it fair to offer him four provinces, while Bahadur Shah kept fourteen for himself? Some assert that the only division he would accept was, as he said, that given in the lines

Az farsh-i-khana ta balab-i-bam az an-i-man,
Az bam-i-khana ta ba sariya az an-i-tu.

"My share is from the floor to the roof of the house, yours from the roof up to the firmament." He ended by reciting in a loud voice with arms stretched forth and sleeves rolled up the line from the *Shah Nama,* "When to-morrow's sun has risen there we will be, I and my mace, the battlefield, and Afrasyab." [*Jangnama,* Iradat 29, K. K. 585-'7, Kamwar 10, Kamraj 24*a,* *Bahadur-Shah-nama* 10, Khush-hal Chand 369*a,* *M. U.* ii. 670, *Storia do Mogor* iv. 400-406.]

SEC. 6.—THE BATTLE OF JAJAU.

Finding hostilities could not be avoided and that Azam Shah was already at Gwaliyar, Bahadur Shah determined to advance and give battle at Dholpur, 34 miles south of Agra. He left Bagh Dahr-Ara on the 14th June 1707, and an advanced guard of about 80,000 horsemen was sent forward under the command of Prince Muhammad Azim, Aghar Khan, Khanazad Khan (son of Munim Khan) and Saf Shikan Khan, general of artillery. Of these troops 30,000 were raised and paid for by Muhammad Azim, who had brought with him a large sum of money from Bengal, some say as much as nine to eleven krors

of Rupees. This advanced force was ordered to take posses-sion of the fords and ferries on the Chambal, which is only one mile beyond and to the south of Dholpur. [K.K. 579, *Jang*. 11.]

On his side Azam Shah, as soon as he had learnt that Bahadur Shah was at Agra, left the rest of his heavy baggage in the fort at Gwaliyar in charge of Asad Khan, the Wazir, Inayatullah Khan, diwan of the Khalsa and others. His sister Zinat-un-nissa, the ladies belonging to the family of Alamgir, and the wives of many nobles were left at the same place. A few members of his harem with a few jewels and some gold coins, continued with the army. Azam Shah crossed the Chambal by the Kamthra* crossing and made for Dholpur. A little money was paid to the troops while Bidar Bakht, the eldest son, was appointed to command the vanguard. With him were Zulfiqar Khan, Khan Alam Dakhini and Munavvar Khan (sons of Khan Zaman Haidarabadi) Rao Dalpat Bundela, Ram Singh Hada and Raja Jai Singh Kachhwaha. [Kamraj 20.]

In support of the Van followed a body of troops under the second son, Prince Wala-jah. With him were Mirza Sadr-ud-din Muhammad Khan, Tarbiyat Khan, Amanullah Khan and Mutallib Khan, Salabat Khan (Sultan Nazar), Aqil Khan (Shaikh Sultan), Safawi Khan Bakhshi, Sayyid Shujat Khan, Ibrahim Beg Tabrizi and Usman Khan. There were with them about 25,000 horsemen.

When Azam Shah neared Dholpur, his son Bidar Bakht came out two *kos* from camp to meet and escort him. For a moment paternal love overcame his jealousy, and Azam Shah received his son cordially, conferring on him valuable gifts. Here the Bakhshis made their reports after the troops had been mustered. The numbers were 65,000 horsemen and 45,000 infantry armed with matchlocks. In this enumeration were included the troops serving directly under Azam Shah and his sons, as well as those brought by the nobles and other leaders. Upon starting all pay had been raised one-fourth and the Prince

* The ford is named *Kainthri*, in *Ind. Atlas*, Sheet 50 S. E., and stands 6 miles due south of Dholpur. [J. Sarkar.]

now promised that upon the day they entered Agra another increase of one-fourth on the total pay would be granted. The whole force was divided into a vanguard, right and left wings and a centre commanded respectively by Bidar Bakht, Azam Shah himself, Wala-jah and Ali Tabar. There were not many large cannon or mortars, these having been left behind at Ahmadnagar, Aurangabad and Burhanpur or wherever they fell. The rest were left at Gwaliyar, as the enemy were supposed to be deficient in such artillery. There were, however, a number of smaller pieces known as *rahkla, shutarnal* (camel-guns) and *gajnals* (elephant-guns). The new head of the artillery, Padshah Quli Khan, with the help of Hazrat Quli Beg Sistani, distributed these equally to each division of the army. Azam Shah, in the boastful manner usual with him, had replied to a demand by the artillery commander for orders that he had no use for cannon against a cattle breeder: nor need to draw his sword, a staff would suffice to break his head. He was also of opinion that an artillery fight was a stripling's pastime and that the only real weapon was the sword. It was decided to march for Samugarh, ten miles s. e. of Agra, it being considered a happy omen to select the ground on which Alamgir had triumphed over his brother Dara Shukoh fifty-two years before. [Iradat 28, Kamraj 19, *Jang.*, Khush-hal Chand 369-370, *Dil.* 162 *a.*]

On the 17th June 1707 Azam Shah completed his march without seeing the enemy. From want of water the sufferings of the troops had been very great. On the way no wells or ponds were met with, and the only water to be got was that from a ravine, and it was very brackish. This is probably the [*nullah* near the Mania railway station]* marked on the map as flowing half way between Dholpur and Jajau. The nobles and great men suffered less for they had taken in their retinue bottles and ox-skins full of sweet water, with which they quenched their own thirst and that of their relations. With these exceptions, the men of the army toiled along with their tongues lolling out of their mouths from thirst, while any animal

* The words within the brackets have been supplied by the editor.

or man that drank a drop of the brackish water suffered greatly. Many died from thirst. When we think of the heat of the month of June in the neighbourhood of Agra, it is easy to believe that in this account there is no exaggeration. [Kamraj 22.]

Owing to the intelligence which reached him of Azam Shah's movements, Bahadur Shah ordered his advance-tents to be sent forward and pitched in a grove four miles north of Jajau.* Rustam Dil Khan, Mir Tuzak, was in charge, and Prince Muhammad Azim was not far off, protecting the new camp. On the 18th June 1707 Bahadur Shah, following the advice of his astrologers, fixed on the 20th as a fortunate day on which to give battle. He and his three sons set out in the morning from their old camp and entered a royal hunting preserve which was near their route intending to pass the day in hunting.† [K.K. 587, *Jang*.]

* The movements of the rivals before the battle are thus described by Bhimsen, who was present in Azam's army and was wounded in the company of his master Dalpat Rao Bundela (*Dil.* 164):—"On the fifteenth [Rabi I., Bahadur Shah from the garden of Dhara near Agra] set out to punish Md. Azam Shah, and leaving Jajau on his *left* hand set up his royal tents and engaged in marshalling his forces. He filled with artillery the uneven pass (*guzar*) of Jajau. Md. Azam Shah, having reached Nurabad on the 14th, halted for one day; under the guidance of the zamindars he left Jajau on his *left* hand and on the 17th arranging his troops marched out to battle.... At this time Shah Alam learnt that Azam had arrived at a distance of two *kos* from Jajau....and had plundered the imperial advance-tents which had been pitched close to the garden of Jajau...and that Prince Azim-ush-shan *had* hurriedly formed line of battle [to oppose him.] The following are the details of the incident: when the army of Azam Shah arrived two *kos* from Jajau, they sighted the tents and standards of the camp of Bahadur Shah; the Left Wing under Zulfiqar Kh. charged at the gallop. ....the defender Rustam Dil Khan fled, and the men of Azam engaged in plunder." There are two serious mistakes here: (i) Shah Alam's advance-tents could not have been pitched close to Jajau and four miles from that village at the same time, and (ii) that Emperor in marching south from Agra must have left Jajau on his *right* and not on his left. The battlefield was clearly 4 miles north-east of Jajau. [J. Sarkar.]

† Valentyn, 276, gives Shah Alam's numbers as 152,000 horse and 178,000 foot, and he adds a long list of the commanders, under eighty-nine

The same morning Bidar Bakht was marching northwards from Jajau on his way to Samugarh. The soldiers owing to the heat and the scarcity of water were, as a native writer says, "melting like wax in the jungle". They were unable to bear the weight of their chain mail and steel breast-plates. These they placed on the powder waggons (*purtal*) and marched with nothing on but their long cotton coats. The head of the skirmishers (*qarawal begi*) had that day selected a line of march through thick underwood, for the reason that on the way would be found a large well with steps. Luckily this well was found. A number of the bodyguard (*jalau khas*) stayed behind to drink. But the effects of the salt water of the previous march were so great that their tongues still hung out of their mouths and they were still eager for more water. In this way they proceeded for fifteen or sixteen miles. [Kamraj 23.]

Bidar Bakht this day was mounted on a war elephant, his quiver at his back and his bow on his arm. His chief men surrounded him. Zulfiqar Khan followed on the left with Ram Singh Hada and Rao Dalpat Bundela, two men long in his employ, and his trusty friend Amanullah Khan who, though separate, appeared as if he were part of Zulfiqar Khan's corps. With the advance guard of the centre (*iltimsh*) marched Aziz Khan Afghan, while still further in advance were Khan Alam Dakhini and his brother Munavvar Khan. On the right was Prince Wala-jah with Amanullah Khan (Abdullah Khan), servant of Azam Shah. The centre followed, under the direct command of Azam Shah, around whom were gathered Tarbiyat Khan, Mutallib Khan, Khudabanda Khan, Hamid-ud-din Khan Bahadur [?], Amir Khan, and others. In this way they drew near to Jajau without learning the exact position of Bahadur Shah or the direction of his advance. [Iradat, 30.]

Bidar Bakht continued his march till he reached a village below which flowed a streamlet of water and around which

headings, but most of the names are so disguised as to be unrecognizable. This list shows a total of 170,000 cavalry, 195,000 infantry, 4414 cannon, 62 elephants, 1,500 camels and 3,000 oxen.

there were several wells. At this time his troops were scattered, out of order, and following what route they chose. It was proposed to rest here, Azam Shah with the main body being three miles behind, the position and intentions of the enemy unknown, the country in front waterless and the day likely to be very hot. Besides this the troops were scattered and Zulfiqar Khan had gone off so far to the left as to be out of sight. Where Bidar Bakht was there was sufficient water, a halt would give the artillery time to join, and the scattered troops to assemble. Moreover, should the enemy advance against them, he would have the advantage of retaining possession of the water. The Prince approved of this advice and ordered Iradat Khan to inform Azam Shah accordingly. The report was made and Azam Shah sent word that he would follow. When Iradat Khan returned to the village, he was surprised to discover that Bidar Bakht had left it. On coming up with him, the drums were beating for a victory. Iradat Khan was unwilling to accept the good news. The Prince turned to a scout and said "Tell Iradat Khan what you have seen." The man said that he had seen Shah Alam's own elephant, riderless, making off for Agra. Still Iradat Khan was unconvinced, but Bidar Bakht, as his only answer, said, "You are for ever a foreboder of evil." [Iradat 31.]

It seems that word had been brought to Prince Bidar Bakht that the enemy was in sight. What had been seen were the flags upon Bahadur Shah's advanced tents, then being erected under the superintendence of Rustam Dil Khan, Mir Tuzak. Prince Azim-ush-shan was at a little distance, ready to protect them from any attack. Khan Alam Dakhini and Munavvar Khan detached themselves from Bidar Bakht's left wing and made a descent upon the imperial tents in the plundering fashion copied from the Mahrattas. They had only 2,000 to 3,000 men with them, but Muhammad Azim's men were taken by surprise and out of 20,000 to 30,000 horse only four hundred to five hundred stood fast round that Prince's elephant. In the confusion Bahadur Shah's tents were set fire to, whereupon the Jats attached to Bahadur Shah's army and the soldiers on both sides began to plunder them. In this first attack Rustam

Dil Khan, Mir Tuzak to Bahadur Shah, was cut off, and making the best of it went and presented himself to Azam Shah and was allowed to ride in his retinue. [Iradat, Kamwar, *Dil.* 164 *a*, *Jang.*, Kamraj 24 *b*, K.K. 589.]

Azim-ush-shan continued to face the enemy and held his ground so far as he was able, sending at the same time urgent messengers to his father calling for reinforcements. The messengers reached Bahadur Shah while he was still engaged in hunting, but he turned at once towards the field of battle, sending first Munim Khan, the Wazir, and then Prince Muizz-ud-din and his other sons to support Azim-ush-shan. Meanwhile Bidar Bakht's drums had begun beating in honour of his supposed victory. Zulfiqar Khan and others proposed to Azam Shah that they should encamp where they were and postpone the final battle till the next day, in the hope that the other side's defeat in the skirmish would exercise a depressing influence on them. Azam Shah would listen to no such proposal, styling it angrily mere women's talk. [*Jang.*, K.K. 589.]

As the dust raised first by one and then by the other of the bodies of troops despatched by Bahadur Shah was seen in the distance, Iradat Khan pointed out to Bidar Bakht that their appearance betokened forces of at least fifty thousand horse in each. By the Prince's order, Iradat Khan rode off to inform Azam Shah. He found that Prince some three miles in the rear. Pushing through the crowd, and in obedience to a signal alighting from his horse near the travelling throne (*takht-i-rawan*) on which Azam Shah was seated, Iradat Khan made his report of the enemy's near approach. With furious looks and rolling eyes, pulling up his sleeves, a gesture usual to him when angry, Azam Shah shouted: "What enemy comes against me!" He called for his war elephant, twirled frantically a crooked staff, and standing upright on his throne said tauntingly "Be not afraid! I am coming to my son." By the time that Iradat Khan reached Bidar Bakht again, the cannonade had begun. [Iradat 33.]

The two advancing bodies of Bahadur Shah's troops had now halted within a rocket's flight of Bidar Bakht's line, one

under the command of Prince Azim-ush-shan, the other under that of Munim Khan, the Wazir, supported by the Princes Muizz-ud-din and Jahan Shah. On Bidar Bakht's side it was found impossible to rally all his men, many of whom had scattered to plunder the camp. Furthermore, his troops were hampered by the crowd of baggage elephants, cattle, and followers on both flanks and in their rear. The opponent's artillery played freely on them and did great execution, the musketry balls fell like hail, and rockets placed in a line before the advancing troops were repeatedly discharged with effect. The sun was high in the heavens and the heat excessive. After a time Bidar Bakht's men became impatient and made ready to charge, headed by Khan Alam Dakhini and his bodyguard of five hundred men arrayed like bridegrooms in long red coats and turbans of green and gold. [Iradat 36, *Dil.* 164 *b*, Qasim 13 *a*, Khush-hal 371 *a*.]

As Khan Alam advanced, many men lagged behind, and not more than three hundred remained with him to the end of the charge. The chief drove his elephant sharply up alongside that ridden by Azim-ush-shan and three times aimed a blow at the Prince with his spear, but the weapon missing the Prince struck the thigh of Jalal Khan, an attendant seated behind him. The Prince was unhurt, and with an arrow hit his assailant full in the breast and killed him, as he was trying to jump into the Prince's *howda*. The Prince's bodyguard closed in, Jalal Khan inflicted a wound on Munavvar Khan, the brother of Khan Alam, and on the fall of the leader the rest of their men were dispersed. By their retreat the Prince Wala-jah was left exposed. Seeing his danger, Amanullah Khan hastened to that Prince's assistance, but a rocket which fell on his elephant's pad set it on fire, causing the elephant to turn round and take to flight. Amanullah Khan, partly burnt, fell to the ground, and his troops, believing he was dead, fled in disorder. Thereupon Prince Wala-jah retreated for protection to Bidar Bakht. [Iradat 37, Kamwar, K. K. 591, Kamraj 25].

Baz Khan Afghan, a leader who had taken service with Azim-ush-shan, aided by Rajah Budh Singh Hada, Rajah Bahadur, the Prince's maternal uncle, and Muhammad Rafi

Khurasāni (afterwards Sarbuland Khan), now attacked Zulfiqar Khan, but was repulsed with great loss, Baz Khan himself being badly wounded. In this attack however, two of Zulfiqar Khan's most trusted commanders, Ram Singh Hada of Bundi and Dalpat Rao Bundela of Datiya-Orchha, were killed by cannon shot, Rao Dalpat being struck by a ball from a swivel-piece, which entered at the chin and came out at his back.* The Rajputs lost heart and fled, taking with them the dead bodies of their chieftains. For a while Zulfiqar Khan himself stood firm, but when assailed by the whole force of Azim-ush-shan's division, he made over the command to Sayyid Muzaffar and retired to the rear of Azam Shah's position. There he left his elephant and fled on horseback to rejoin his father, Asad Khan, at Gwaliyar. He had received a slight wound on the lip.† His flight determined the defeat of the army. The author of the *Masir-ul-umara* accused him, with some justice, of having on this occasion sought more to serve his own interests than to really exert himself for the Prince whose side he had adopted. Danishmand Khan's remarks on Zulfiqar Khan's early flight from the battlefield are exceedingly pungent, and must have stung him to the quick.‡ Another interval in the ranks was made by the departure of Rajah Jai Singh Kachhwaha from his place or

* The fatal ball then passed into Bhimsen's arm and there was arrested in its course. (*Dil.* 165*a.*)

† *M. U.*, ii. 93. As to this wound Yahya Khan (113*b*) says that Azam Shah when Zulfiqar Khan proposed to put off the final contest to the next day, fired at him an arrow without a head (*tikkah*) which hit him on the lip and broke a tooth. Between Dholpur and Nurabad his flight was hindered by the villagers who plundered his men, killing several officers of rank such as Muzaffar with his sons and nephews : while Kabir Afghan from the weight of his armour and the heat fell from his horse. Zulfiqar Khan neither paused nor gave any heed but pursued his way to Gwaliyar. (*Dil.* 166*b.*)

‡ Bhimsen, although serving under one of Zulfiqar Khan's own officers (Rao Dalpat Bundela), takes the same view. "If Nusrat Jang, as required by his apparent loyalty, had joined actively with the other leaders in the attack, and had even for a little while held his own in the battle, all the difficulties that fell upon Azam Shah would never have happened." (*Dil.* 166*a.*)

Bidar Bakht's left. At the exact moment of the severest fighting, he put his bow into his *howda*, wrapped his shawl over his head, and made his way to Prince Muhammad Azim, by whom and his father Bahadur Shah he was not very graciously received.* Others influenced by the bad example of Zulfiqar Khan also withdrew or relaxed their efforts. [Iradat 37, *Dil.* 165-166, Kamraj 27, Yahya 113*b*.]

The heat was excessive, the soil sandy, and as the fight continued the thick dust was blown by the hot wind into the faces of Azam Shah's soldiers. Several writers attribute to this wind a disastrous effect on the battle, and even assert that it was strong enough to divert the arrows shot from Azam Shah's side.* The leaders on that side were dismounted and awaited the enemy's charge, resolved to sell their lives dearly. On the other side the Barha Sayyids, led by Hasan Ali Khan (afterwards Abdullah Khan) with his brothers, Husain Ali Khan and Nur-ud-din Ali Khan, advanced to the attack on foot,† as was their custom in the crisis of a battle. Hasan Ali Khan and Husain Ali Khan were both wounded and were left on the field ; Nur-ud-din Ali Khan was killed. Other casualties on Bahadur Shah's side were Mirza Namdar (grandson of Padshah Quli Khan Lakhnavi). Sayyid Husain Khan and Sayyid Abu Said Khan. Inayat Khan, grandson of Sadullah Khan Shahjahani, received severe wounds, of which he subsequently died. Of Azam Shah's supporters Amanullah Khan was killed. Tarbiyat Khan soon after lost his life by a musket ball, while Matlab Khan and Khudabanda Khan fell down fainting from loss of blood. Muhammad Bakir, *Mir Atash* to Bidar, Bakht, Muhammad Ishaq, Ibrahim Khan, Ahmad Khan, Darya Khan,

* Yahya Khan (113*b*) improves even on this. Not only did the wind send back arrows but also bullets, and with such force that they killed men on the side from which they were sent!

† *Utara* or dismounting. On quitting their horses the men tied the skirts of their tunics together. Persians in India ridiculed the practice, attributing its origin to the bad horsemanship of the Indians; the Hindustanis themselves boasted of it as a proof of exceptional courage. *Memoirs of Delhi and Faizabad* (*i.e., Tarikh-i-Farrah Bakhsh* of Mhd. Faiz Bakhsh) by W. Hoey., Vol. 1., Appendix, p. 7, and J. Shakespear, *H. Dict.* 30.

Sayyid Abdullah, Safawi Khan, all lost their lives. Bidar Bakht had already been struck by several arrows, and a flesh wound had been received by his young son, Bidar Dil, who was seated on his father's elephant. The boy had just been made over to a trusty eunuch to be carried to the women's elephants, when a ball from a swivel-gun (*jazair*) struck his father Bidar Bakht, and killed him. [Iradat 38, *Dil.* 165*b*, Kamraj 28, Qasim 14-15, Khush-hal 371*b*.]

Prince Wala-jah had arrived a little time before to reinforce his brother, Bidar Bakht, and the vanguard. Many leaders on that side perished in the struggle. Among them were Zafar Ali Khan, Ismail Khan (son of Aqil Khan), Shaikh Habibullah (Dilawar Khan), Ibrahim Beg Babari, Hazrat Quli Sistani, Salabat Khan (Sultan Nazar), Aqil Khan (Shaikh Sultan), Sherani Khan (Bahadur Sherani) and Yusuf Muhammad Beg (Abdullah Beg). It was now only three hours to sunset, but Prince Wala-jah, in spite of his wounds, fought on. At length he fainted from loss of blood, his elephant was driven off to the rear, and he was taken to his father, 'Azam Shah. [Kamraj 30, *Dil.* 165-166.]

The main body under Azam Shah in person now took up the contest. Soon an arrow struck Prince Ali Tabar on the arm, he being with his father, Azam Shah, in one *howda* ; and at this time Sher Afkan Khan, (Mir Muhammad Husain), head of the artillery, was slain. Tari Khan (M. Usman) Janbaz Khan (M. Amin Mandal), Shujat Khan (Sayyid Abdul Muhammad), Shah Nawaz Kh. (Safawi Khan), the third Bakhshi, Mast Ali Khan, Mir Niyaz, and others also perished. Many men of note were wounded. Azam Shah, in spite of the death of his eldest son and of so many leaders, urged on his elephant, amidst a rain of arrows and balls, into the thick of the fight. It is said (Qasim, 13) that one after another four drivers were shot down, as they directed his elephant onwards.* Azam Shah himself was struck

* Another story (Yahya Khan, 113*b*) is :—When the elephant driver was told to drive on he remarked "This elephant habitually travels 100 *kos* with ease." Azam Shah's wrath was aroused at this suggestion of flight. He hit the man with the weapon he happened to have in his hand, knocked him off the elephant, and drove it himself.

several times by arrows, but he paid no heed to the wounds. At length a musket ball struck him on the forehead and killed him. The shot is believed to have been from the hand of Isa Khan Main, a zamindar from the Lakhi Jangal of subah Lahor, then serving with the troops of Prince Muizz-ud-din. It was then about one and a half hours before nightfall. The flying troops made off towards Gwaliyar, and so many lost their lives on the way at the hands of Jat plunderers and the Rohelas of Dholpur, that the ravines leading to the Chambal were encumbered with decaying bodies. [Kamraj 30, Kamwar, Khush-hal 372*b*.]

Spies brought word at once to Bahadur Shah that his rival was dead. Men were despatched to bring in the corpses, but Azam Shah's bodyguard attempted to retain possession of them. A fight was carried on around the elephants. Wala-jah was thereby roused from his swoon and attempted to renew the fight ; but he soon fainted again and then expired. Kokaltash Khan (Mir Hidayatullah Koka) continued to defend the bodies till he lost his own life. When night came on, the two to three hundred men then left round the three elephants dispersed, and Rustam Dil Khan, who as already related had been made a prisoner early in the day, mounting Azam Shah's elephant, cut off the dead Prince's head and made his way with it to Bahadur Shah, thinking it would be an acceptable offering.* [Kamraj 31, Iradat 39, *Dil.* 166*b*, Khush-hal 373*a*.]

Instead of the expected reward, Rustam Dil Khan, on laying Azam Shah's head before his master, received nothing but reproaches from the compassionate Bahadur Shah. Two elephants followed, bearing the dead bodies of Azam Shah and Bidar Bakht. In the *howda* of the first-named was found his young son, Ali Tabar, lying unconscious, in a state more dead than alive, partly from the wound he had received and partly from fright. Bahadur Shah received the boy very kindly, embraced him, and wept for the dead. Azam Shah's women

* Kamraj's *Azam-ul-harb*. The elephant bearing Wala-jah's body, having no driver, escaped and made for the bank of the Jamuna under the fort of Agra, and there it was captured the next morning.

and Bidar Bakht's sons, Bidar Dil and Said Bakht, and other children, were brought in by the exertions of Munim Khan, and these all received assurances of favour and protection. [Iradat 39, Kamraj 31-32.]

Throughout the day indescribable suffering had been caused to Azam Shah's troops by the want of water, many horses and elephants expired, and, as one of the officers present states, 12,000 horsemen were left dead upon the field. Bahadur Shah caused proclamation to be made that the soldiers of the losing side should not be harmed. Sadr-ud-din Muhammad Khan Safawi now went to the conqueror and made his submission. The bodies of the brothers, Khan Zaman and Khan Alam Dakhini, were sent to Gwaliyar for burial. Ram Singh Hada's corpse was removed for cremation to Nurabad, while that of Rao Dalpat Bundela was committed to the flames by his son Bharati Chand at the village of Dhami, seven miles from Agra. Bharati Chand with Bhimsen then retired to his home at Orchha. [*Dil.* 167*a*.] [The bodies of the three dead Princes were placed in biers and after a few days despatched for burial in the mausoleum of Humayun at Dihli.]

The loss on both sides in this battle is said to have amounted to ten thousand men. At midnight the two Barha Sayyids, Hasan Ali Khan and Husain Ali Khan, were found lying wounded and insensible among the slain. They were removed to a place of safety and attended to. Orders were given to collect the dead bodies and they were buried under great mounds known as 'Martyrs' storehouses.' Bahadur Shah passed the night in a *shamiana* erected on the field of battle, and the next morning he returned in state to Bagh Dahr-Ara. [Khush-hal 373, Iradat 39.]

It may be fairly said, in summing up this part of our story, that Azam Shah brought on his own defeat by his overhaste and excessive rashness. Having failed to reach Agra in time to occupy that city before his rival, his chance of success was reduced enormously. He had little or no money, in comparison at least with the large resources thrown open to Bahadur Shah ; he had left much of his equipage behind him in the Dakhin ; and his army was largely composed of fresh and untrained

troops; while many of his chief men, such as Zulfiqar Khan and Rajah Jai Singh Kachhwaha seem to have been only half-hearted in their support of his cause. Still, in eastern warfare a bold attack presumably succeeds, and many a field has been won in India more by boldness than by good generalship. But the fates were not propitious to Azam Shah, and as usual in Indian battles, the death of the leader decided the day. Nor can Azam Shah's failure to attain Empire be regretted by the impartial enquirer. He might have been a more vigorous ruler than his brother, Bahadur Shah, but his overweening conceit, violent temper, and easily excited jealousy of his son, would in the end have been far more disastrous to the Mughal dynasty in India than even the weak profuseness of his successful rival.

Azam Shah having been born on the 12th Shaban 1063 H., as already stated, had attained at his death the age of 55 (lunar) years 7 months and 6 days, his nominal reign, counting from the 28 Zul Qada 1118 up to the 18th Rabi, I. 1119, having lasted three months and ten days. He had seven sons; the names of these and of their children are shown in the subjoined table.

Azam Shah

(1) Bidar Bakht	(5) Jawan Bakht	(6) Sikandar Shan	(7) Wala-jah	(8) Zi-jah	(9) Wala Shan	(10) Ali Tabar
(2) Firuz Bakht	(3) Bidar Dil; Dindar Dil	(4) Said Bakht		Hayat-ullah	Bakht-Afzun Banu Begam	Bakht-un-nissa Begam

A daughter Giti Ara Begam was married on the 27th Shaban 1121 H. to Azim-ush-shan, second son of Bahadur Shah. And on the 24th Ramzan of the same year a daughter of Bidar Bakht was married to Azz-ud-din, son of Bahadur Shah's eldest son Muizz-ud-din Jahandar Shah.

SEC. 7.—BAHADUR SHAH'S STAY AT AGRA AND APPOINTMENTS TO THE PRINCIPAL OFFICES.

As soon as he had returned to Bagh Dahr-Ara near Agra, Bahadur Shah held public audience and received congratula-

tions upon the previous day's victory. Numerous promotions and appointments were made. The four Princes received new titles, Muizz-ud-din was created Jahandar Shah Bahadur and given the governorship of Tattha and Multan ; Muhammad Azim became Azim-ush-shan Bahadur and received the provinces of Bengal and Azimabad (Patna) ; Rafi-ul-qadr became Rafi-ush-shan Bahadur with charge of the province of Kabul, and the fourth son, Khujista-Akhtar, was now made Jahan Shah Bahadur with rule over the province of Malwa. Their rank (*mansab*) was raised to 30,000 *zat*, 20,000 horsemen ; large sums were disbursed to them from the accumulations in Agra fort, and they were directed to name deputies to take charge of their respective Governments.

Munim Khan, in spite of a wound from a musket ball, had kept the battlefield, and throughout the day displayed the greatest activity. When the victory was won he was so exhausted that he was obliged to be carried on a cloth and laid before his master. Bahadur Shah took him into his arms and embraced him saying, "All I have won is due to your exertions". Naim Khan, the minister's son, had also been wounded. As the minister's wounds were so severe as to prevent his presenting himself at the audience, the Emperor in person visited his quarters to enquire as to his condition. His title of Khan Zaman was converted into that of Khan Khanan Bahadur Zafar Jang, and his rank raised from 1,500 to 7,000 (7,000 horse), with a grant of two krors of *dams* in cash and goods. His eldest son Muhammad Naim (Khanazad Khan) became Mahabat Khan Bahadur ; his younger son, Mukarram Khan, was made Khan Zaman. [Iradat, Qasim 14, K.K. 598, Kamraj 34 *a*, *Dil.* 167 *a*.]

The policy of Bahadur Shah was throughout his reign one of conciliation. It is difficult to decide how far he was influenced in this conduct by his chief minister Munim Khan. But from the first this spirit was shown. It was laid down that to have joined Azam Shah was not in itself to be treated as an offence. The Emperor met any remonstrances by saying that if his own sons had been present in the Dakhin, they would have been forced, in order to save themselves, into adopting

their uncle's cause. (K.K. 600.) All, who chose to present themselves were readmitted into the imperial service. In pursuance of this policy, letters were sent to Gwaliyar addressed to Asad Khan, Alamgir's Wazir, and his son, Zulfiqar Khan, directing them to bring in to Agra the Emperor's sister, Zinat-un-nissa Begam and the other members of Alamgir and Azam Shah's family left behind at that place, together with all the baggage and establishments. Similarly, offers of immunity and invitations to Court were sent to Ghazi-ud-din Khan Bahadur Firuz Jang, his son, Chin Qilich Khan, the subahdar of Aurangabad, and his cousin, Muhammad Amin Khan Chin Bahadur *Sadar-us-sadur* in the late reign. [Kamwar 14.]

Early in Rabi II. 1119 (July 1707), Asad Khan, the late Emperor's Wazir, and his son Zulfiqar Khan arrived in Agra, escorting the Emperor's sister, Zinat-un-nissa. Many of the leading men, who had marched from the Dakhin in the train of Azam Shah, came in with them. Asad Khan and Zulfiqar Khan presented themselves with their hands bound ; the bonds of the first were untied by Bahadur Shah himself, those of the second by Jahandar Shah, his eldest son. Asad Khan was offered the position of *Wakil-i-mutlaq,* that is, Vice Emperor, an office superior to that of *Wazir,* which had been held in the reign of Shah Jahan by Asaf Khan that Emperor's father-in-law. The office of Wazir had been already promised at Lahor to Munim Khan. With this arrangement Asad Khan was, in his heart, far from pleased, he would have liked to exercise, as before, the full powers of minister. This reluctance was learnt by Bahadur Shah through the Princes, his sons, and he hesitated to give final orders. Perhaps, as some say, this tenderness for Asad Khan arose out of deference to the wish expressed in Alamgir's will that he should be retained as Wazir. In consultation with his youngest and then favourite son Jahan Shah, he sent the Prince's chamberlain, Lutfullah Khan Sadiq, to conciliate Asad Khan. The latter was induced to consent, but abated little of his pretensions. In his written petition he asked first to be made Wazir. If not, then let whatever the Emperor liked be done. "What can a slave claim? His master's orders are right." But he sent a separate list of the

powers exercised by and the dignities conferred on the late Yamin-ud-daulah Asaf Khan, and these he asked for himself. They were as follows: Asaf Khan used to attend the evening audience for the purpose of laying all business before His Majesty, then next day he went to his own office. There the two chief officials attended; one, Afzal Khan, sat behind him, the other, Sadiq Khan, owing to his relationship, was allowed to sit on the right at a distance of two yards from his cushion. On the left at a distance of four yards sat the Tan Bakhshi. Sadiq Khan brought before Yamin-ud-daulah *i.e.*, Asaf Khan, all appointments and removals of *subahdars, faujdars* and *diwans*. Afzal Khan brought forward the office reports about resumption or exchange of land assignments (*jagir*). Yamin-ud-daulah signed the orders and went home. Then Sadiq Khan used to proceed to the Emperor's audience-hall and report what had been done. It was not till this report was made that His Majesty sanctioned the promotions, appointments and grants. In addition the Wakil-i-mutlaq kept the seal, received a copy of the reports from the provinces and of every paper filed by the chief diwan, his seal and signature were attached to all warrants of appointment, the Court reporter appeared before him daily with all new intelligence. Asad Khan also claimed the rank of 9,000 (9,000 horsemen), the *togh* (yak's tail) and *tuman*, the governorship of Lahor, the right to sit in the audience-hall, permission to beat his drums next after those of the royal Princes, and when the Court was moving about to come in his litter as far as the enclosure (*jali*), and when it was stationary to come into the courtyard of the public and private audience-halls, or if the audience had begun, then as far as the doorway. [Kamwar 14, *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, Qasim 17.]

In reply Bahadur Shah explained that the special services performed by Munim Khan justified his appointment as Wazir. That office could not be justly given to any one else. Asad Khan would be named as Wakil-i-mutlaq with the rank of 8,000 (8,000 horsemen, *Duaspah*), the duties in case of absence to be performed by Zulfiqar Khan as his father's deputy. All the other demands were agreed to, and it was pointed out

that Yamin-ud-daulah's higher rank was due to his relationship to the then sovereign and the special services rendered in the contest for the throne. Asad Khan's titles were increased to Nizam-ul-mulk, Asaf-ud-daulah, while his son was raised to 7,000 (7,000 horse), with the titles of Samsam-ud-daulah Amir-ul-umara Bahadur Nusrat Jang, his old office of First Bakhshi being confirmed to him. [Kamwar 15.]

The division of authority in this way between a former Wazir and a new minister was not likely to endure. Munim Khan soon objected to the formalities which made him nominally, if not really, the subordinate of Asad Khan. The rules required that, when Asad Khan held his audience as *Wakil*, the chief minister, Munim Khan, should appear before him and after making obeisance stand while the official documents were signed. This was considered by Munim Khan to be an indignity. The pretext was therefore found that Asad Khan, having arrived at a great age, should now retire to Dihli and rest from the fatigues undergone in the constant campaigns and marchings of the preceding reign. His son, Zulfiqar Khan, remained at Court as his deputy with charge of the Wakil's seal to the end of the reign ; this seal was impressed after that of the Wazir upon all written orders and warrants of appointment in the military and civil departments, but in no way had Asad Khan any longer the least influence in the affairs of the realm. [K.K. 601.]

When Asad Khan, having been also made in addition to his other offices subahdar of Dihli, took his departure for that city (1st Sept. 1707), he received charge of the Emperor's sister, Zinat-un-nissa Begam, and the women and children of the late Azam Shah's household. Zinat-un-nissa had arrived from Gwaliyar towards the end of Rabi II. 1119 (July 1707), and on the excuse of her mourning for Azam Shah, had declined to send any congratulations to the victor. In spite of his vexation at this slight, Bahadur Shah doubled his sister's allowances and created her Padshah Begam. Suitable allowances were fixed for all those who had been dependent on Azam Shah. [K.K. 600, Kamwar 17.]

In the end the principal offices in the State came to be

thus distributed. As already stated the high office of *Wakil-i-mutlaq* was held by Asad Khan, Alamgir's Wazir; Munim Khan Khan Khanan was *Wazir* or Prime Minister; Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat Jang, son of Asad Khan, first *Bakhshi*; Mirza Shah Nawaz Khan Safawi, second *Bakhshi* as before; Mahabat Khan, son of Munim Khan, third *Bakhshi*; Inayatullah Khan Kashmiri *diwan* of the Khalsa and Tan; Mukhtar Khan Khan Alam Bahadur-Shahi was *Khan-saman* or Grand Chamberlain. Hamid-ud-din Khan Alamgir-Shahi, and Rustam Dil Khan, were the first and second Masters of the Ceremonies (*Mir Tuzak*). [Kamraj 35 *a* & *b*, *Dil.* 167, *T. Mdi.*]

On the 10 Shaban 1119 (5th Nov.), the Mughal leaders Chin Qilich Khan Bahadur, Muhammad Amin Khan Chin Bahadur and the latter's son, Qamr-ud-din Khan, with many others arrived at the Court in Agra from Aurangabad, in response to the letters sent to them after the victory over Azam Shah. They were presented through Munim Khan. This minister had no reason to love Muhammad Amin Khan Chin, for it was on that chief's report complaining of neglect to reinforce him at the siege of Khelna (1702) in the Dakhin, that five years before this time Munim Khan had fallen into disgrace and received the great affront of a reduction in his rank. This reason accounts in part, no doubt, for the fact that in Bahadur Shah's reign Muhammad Amin Khan and the other Turani soldiers of fortune were kept comparatively in the background. Their presence, too, in the Dakhin, where they had so long served and had so many friends, would have been in itself dangerous, while Zulfiqar Khan's own projects in that direction required that the field should be cleared of any powerful rivals.* For one or other of these reasons, Ghazi-ud-din Khan Firuz Jang, the blind subahdar, was transferred from the Dakhin to Ahmadabad; his son, Chin Qilich Khan, (newly created Khan Dauran Bahadur, 7,000 *zat*, 7,000 horse) was posted as *subahdar*

* Ghazi-ud-din Khan also seems to have been the man who poisoned Alamgir's mind against his son Mhd. Muazzam (Shah Alam) and caused the latter's disgrace and imprisonment, a fact which can never have been overlooked or forgotten. (Yahya Khan.)

of Oudh and *faujdar* of Gorakhpur ; and his nephew, Muhammad Amin Khan Chin Bahadur, was made *faujdar* of Muradabad in the subah of Dihli. [Kamwar 21, *M.A.* 464.]

The rainy season was passed by the Emperor in his camp at Bagh Dahr-Ara near Agra, where he was occupied in making the numerous appointments usual when a new sovereign ascends the throne. In this interval it was found that the affairs of Rajputana called most urgently for the Emperor's presence in person, and it was resolved to march by way of Amber and Ajmer to Jodhpur.* A start was made on the 12th November 1707. [Kamwar 19.]

SEC. 8.—THE RAJPUT COUNTRY AND ITS CHIEF STATES.

Rajputana is the extensive country lying between Sind on the west and the Chambal river on the east, and stretching from the Bharatpur and Dholpur States on the north to the Narmada on the south. It is about 130,000 square miles in area and divided by the Aravalli range into two parts, the western, a dry sandy plain, the eastern, a higher and more fertile country, much of it open and cultivated. Into this region the great Hindu military and ruling caste of the Rajputs had retired, in the twelfth century driven out by the Muhammadan invasion from Northern India and from the open valley of the Ganges and Jamuna. There are now fifteen Rajput States within the above boundaries, but some of them are modern and others are mere offshoots from the greater families. Long before the period with which we are dealing the Rajahs ruling the smaller principalities, such as Bundi, Kotah, Partabgarh, had accepted service in the Mughal army. As we have just seen most of them had representatives on one, if not on both sides, in the battle at Jajau, and after that battle they trans-

* Bhimsen asserts that on Munim Khan's advice Bahadur Shah had formed the deliberate plan of conquering the Rajput States in order to find more lands to grant as *jagirs* to his nobles, his undue liberality having already exhausted all that were available. As a pretext for the Emperor's advance, he gave out that he meant to visit the shrine at Ajmer of Muin-ud-din Chishti. (*Dil.* 169*b*.)

ferred themselves and their troops without hesitation to the side of the victor. With the three leading houses, the Sisodias of Mewar (or Udaipur), the Rathors of Marwar (or Jodhpur), and the Kachhwahas of Amber, the case was somewhat different.

The early Muhammadan kings had made little or no impression on the country held by the Rajputs, and for the most part they were left to themselves. But Babar in 1527 inflicted a crushing defeat at Fathpur Sikri on Rana Sanga Sisodia of Mewar. Akbar carried still farther the process of conquest, obtained wives from some of the houses, and took many of the chiefs into his military service. Still the country was only indirectly governed by the Muhammadans; and although in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, that great record of Akbar's administration, the whole of it is included in some province or other of the Empire, and its Rajahs are always spoken of under the colourless name of 'zamindars', the Mughals held it by little more than a military occupation. No doubt, the Mughal Emperors claimed the right of confirming succession to a Raj, exacted homage and offerings on such occasions, formally conferring at the same time the title of Rajah and a rank or *mansab* in their army, with insignia of various sorts. Such investiture was according to eastern habit preceded by gifts (*peshkash*) to the suzerain. But the only tribute exacted seems to have been service in the Mughal armies, and the only hold on the country the garrisons in certain towns or fortified places. The centre of the Muhammadan authority was Ajmer, around which they possessed some of the lands. Here the *subahdar* or governor of the province of Ajmer lived; while *faujdars* (military magistrates) and *qiladars* or fort commandants were posted at important places, such as Bairath, Sambhar, and Biana and in forts such as Ranthambhor and elsewhere. In the subah of Ajmer were included all the Rajput States (those of the Bundela clan excepted).

The principal State, from the antiquity and pre-eminence of the Sisodia house which ruled over it, was Mewar in the south-east of the region, with its capital at Udaipur. The old capital Chitor had been stormed and taken by Akbar; but the

Sisodias had ever held themselves as far aloof as possible from contact with the Muhammadans, and had succeeded in preserving themselves from the disgrace (as they considered it) of giving any daughter of their house in marriage to the Mughal Emperors. *The Rajahs of Mewar never served in person* in the Muhammadan armies as was done by the other Rajput rulers, even the greatest, those of Jodhpur and Amber. In 1707 at the death of Alamgir, Rana Amar Singh, second of that name, was sitting on the *gaddi* (pillow of state) at Udaipur, and had then occupied it for eight years. (Tod, i. 394.) The smaller States need not be mentioned at this point, as their Rajahs exercised no important influence on the destinies of the Empire. It remains to say a few words about the then position of Amber and Jodhpur.

The Kachhwaha State of Amber was comparatively obscure and unimportant when the Mughal period began. It was the first to succumb to the Mughal advance, its Rajahs gave their daughters to the Emperors, and entering their service rose to high employ in the Muhammadan State. Rajah Jai Singh, first of that name, known best by his title of Mirza Rajah, played a conspicuous part in the reign of Shah Jahan between the years 1644 and 1658. In this way the State of Amber, although not larger or wealthier than some of the other secondary States, grew to be considered on an equality with the two largest and most important States of Mewar and Marwar. At the beginning of the 18th century these three States were politically speaking of equal importance. The immediate successors of the Mirza Rajah had not been men of the same note, and since 1699 the chieftainship had been held by his grandson Jai Singh, now in 1707 a young man of

* This was a concession granted only to the ruler of Mewar, who was exempted from attendance at the imperial Court and service in the imperial army in person like the other vassal Princes, and permitted to do these services by deputy, usually a younger brother or son, or oftener a paid agent. The Sisodia contingent in the Mughal army was very small, unlike the followers of the Jodhpur and Amber chiefs. [J. S.]

about twenty-one years of age.* As we have seen, Jai Singh had espoused the wrong side, that of the defeated Azam Shah ; and he suffered from a rival claimant in the person of his younger brother Bijai Singh, who with greater prudence or better luck had joined the army of Bahadur Shah before the decisive battle, having previously lived for some time in the Kabul province under the protection of Prince Shah Alam.

The headship of the Rathors of Jodhpur was held at this time by Ajit Singh,† posthumous son of Maharajah Jaswant Singh, and now about twenty-seven or twenty-eight years of age. His early history is surrounded by romance. Jaswant Singh, in the war between the sons of Shah Jahan, had sided with Dara Shukoh. Although he was pardoned by Alamgir he was never fully restored to favour. He was sent to serve in the Dakhin, then in Kabul, then again in the Dakhin. Finally he was sent to be commander (*thanadar*) at Jamrud in the province of Kabul, where he died on the 6th Zul Qada 1089 H. (18th Dec. 1678). Kumar Pirthi Singh his son had predeceased him (and also two other sons who had accompanied him to Kabul), but he left two widows. At Lahor on their journey home the widows were delivered each of a posthumous son. Alamgir ordered that the ladies with the infants and the deceased Maharajah's dependents should be brought to him at Dihli. When they arrived they encamped near Barahpullah. One of the children had died, but Alamgir tried to obtain possession of the other by force. The faithful Rathor clansmen in the late Maharajah's service, the celebrated Durgadas Rathor at their head, defended their infant chieftain. When at length, overcome by numbers, they were forced to succumb, they left behind an infant and some women dressed in the Ranis' clothes that they had substituted, and escaped with the real heir, Ajit Singh, to their own deserts, where they assembled their fighting men for retaliation. Alamgir affected to believe

* He died in 1743, aged 57. [*T-i-M.*]

† The history of the birth and infancy of Ajit Singh is given in full detail and with references to all the authorities, in Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib*. iii. ch. 36. [J.S.]

that the boy of whom he had obtained possession was the veritable Ajit Singh. The child was made a Muhammadan, and receiving the name of Muhammadi Raj was made over to the imperial harem. On the other hand, the boy who had been rescued and carried off by the Rathors was declared a mere pretender set up by the clansmen as a pretext for opposing the imperial arms, nor would Alamgir believe the contrary till the Rana of Chitor agreed to give a Sisodia princess in marriage to Ajit Singh. Alamgir was forced to march early in Zul Hijja in person to suppress the Rathor rising, and reaching Ajmer sent on his fourth son Muhammad Akbar to conduct the campaign. The Rajputs fled with the child into the hills. Finally Durgadas induced Muhammad Akbar to come forward as a claimant to the imperial throne on a promise of support from all the Rathors and other Rajputs. The combination was dissolved by a stratagem. Muhammad Akbar fled to the Dakhin and found refuge with the Mahrattas while Jodhpur was occupied and an imperial *faujdar* placed in charge. For the remaining years of Alamgir's reign Ajit Singh lived in hiding, principally at Jalor, a place to the south of his own territory. The rest of Alamgir's reign passed in continual forays and incursions by the Rathors which the Muhammadans could never thoroughly suppress. From the time of Jaswant Singh's death and Alamgir's treacherous attempt to seize his son, dates the alienation of the Rajput clans, whose loyalty had been so wisely and prudently fostered for many years by the tolerant measures of Akbar and his two successors Jahangir and Shah Jahan. As soon as Alamgir, their oppressor, had expired, Ajit Singh collected his men, issued from his retreat and ejected the Muhammadans from Jodhpur and neglected to send an embassy to the new sovereign. (*Dil.* 170.) It was with this state of things that Bahadur Shah had now to deal.

SEC. 9.—BAHADUR SHAH INVADES RAJPUTANA.

Rana Amar Singh of Udaipur averted the threatened blow by sending Bakht Singh his brother to Agra with a letter of congratulation, one hundred gold coins, one thousand Rupees, two horses with gold mounted trappings, an elephant, nine

swords, and other productions of his country. Bakht Singh was presented to the Emperor by Prince Jahandar Shah a few days before the commencement of the march from Bagh Dahr-Ara. On the 15th Shaban 1119 (10th Nov. 1707) the advance-tents were sent on and the camp was pitched on the banks of a large tank or artificial lake. On the 17th Shaban the first march was made, gifts being distributed according to the advice of the astrologers attached to the Court. On the 26th Shaban a visit was paid in passing to the shrine of Shaikh Salim Chishti at Fathpur Sikri. For the greater part of the month of Ramzan (25 Nov.—24 Dec.) a halt was made at Bhasawar* both on account of the annual fast and by reason of Prince Jahan Shah's illness. In this interval Mihrab Khan, *faujdar* of Jodhpur, was sent off to take possession of that city. (*Bahadur-Shah-nama*, 44 ; *Dil.* 169 *b*, 170 *a* ; Kamraj, 37 *a*.)

The advance was resumed on the 28th December 1707. As they drew near to Amber, the capital of the Kachhwahas, Bahadur Shah directed that as there was a dispute for the throne between the two brothers, Jai Singh and Bijai Singh, the State should be annexed to the Empire, that the name of the town should be altered to Islamabad, and that a new *faujdar* should be sent there in the person of Sayyid Ahmad Said Khan Barha. By the route taken Hindaun Biana lay on their left, and passing Todah belonging to Jagannath Kachhwaha, they went through Deosa, in the Dhudhar country, Kherwali and Bairath. It was a desolate land, the few inhabitants had fled before the army, and sweet water was hardly attainable, what there was being brought from great distances. The army reached Amber about the 20th January 1708, and on a Friday the Emperor went in state to pray at a mosque situated in that town. Rajah Jai Singh had deserted Azam Shah before the close of the battle at Jajau, and apparently had been now some time in the imperial camp at Agra and on the march. The officials now proceeded to confiscate his goods, but they

* *Bhoosawar* (*Ind. At.* 50), 58 m. west of Agra, 74 m. east of Jaipur, and 12 m. south of the railway. [J. S.]

were given back to him. The country of Amber, however, was made over to Bijai Singh, Jai Singh's younger brother, who on the 10th Safar 1120 (30th April, 1708) received the title of Mirza Rajah. Jewels worth 1,00,000 Rupees were given to him with the order to make them over to his mother. (*Bahadur-Shah-nama*, 62—64.)

After a stay of three days in Amber, the palaces and houses of which had been deserted by their inhabitants, Bahadur Shah continued his march towards Jodhpur, passing Sanganer and Kishangarh.* He was still on his way to Ajmer when two important reports were received. First, it was notified that on hearing of the Emperor's drawing near to Ajmer, Rana Amar Singh had fled in fright from Udaipur sending his family and property to a hiding place in the hills. The second report came from the Dakhin, and it had reference to Muhammad Kam Bakhsh. He had issued coinage and caused the *khutba* to be read in his own name. This was, of course, a declaration of independence, and in spite of Bahadur Shah's love of peace, this was apparently a claim that he felt bound to resist. From this time he resolved as soon as he had dealt with Jodhpur to march into the Dakhin to suppress Kam Bakhsh.

When he had reached the neighbourhood of Ajmer, Bahadur Shah announced that he intended to march to Jodhpur. On hearing this, Mukand Singh and Bakht Singh, the representatives of Ajit Singh then in attendance on the Emperor, offered to bring in the Rajah to make his submission. At this time it was learnt that when Mihrab Khan, *faujdar* of Jodhpur, reached within seven *kos* of Mairtha, he had been attacked by Rajah Ajit Singh. The Rajah was defeated and fled, and Mairtha was then occupied. On the 12th February

* *Deosa*, 30 m. east of Jaipur. *Kherwal*, 24 m. east of Jaipur. *Dhudhar*. the old name of the Kachhwaha State, now known as Jaipur. (Tod, ii. 333, Calcutta reprint of 1874). *Bairath* in sarkar Alwar is quite off the route from Biana. *Sanganer*, about 12 m. south of Amber, *Kishangarh*, the chief town of Rajah Raj Singh Rathor, about 80 m. s. w. of Amber, and 20 m.n.e. of Ajmer.

1708 a *farman* was sent by messenger to Durgadas Rathor, but the advance continued. Three days afterwards when several marches had been completed, an answer arrived from Ajit Singh. It was not altogether unfavourable, but he professed to entertain grave doubts as to the Emperor's intentions. A written answer was sent off at once to Durgadas Rathor, by the hand of Rashid Beg, a mace-bearer. The next day the Wazir's son, Khan Zaman, accompanied by Rajah Budh Singh Hada and Nejabat Khan, was despatched to interview Rajah Ajit Singh at Jodhpur. (*Bahadur-Shah-nama*, 68.)

On the 21st February 1708 Bahadur Shah reached the town of Mairtha. On the 24th Rajah Ajit Singh came with Khan Zaman and was allotted quarters in the camp of Munim Khan, the Wazir. Next day the Rajah was presented, and with his hands tied together by a handkerchief, he made his obeisance, and offered one hundred gold coins and one thousand Rupees. Bahadur Shah receiving him graciously, directed Islam Khan, superintendent of the Privy Council chamber and general of artillery, to conduct him to the artillery park, and there invest him with the special robes of honour and the jewelled scarf which had been conferred on him. On the 26th February the Rajah was present in the Privy audience-hall being placed on the left of the throne. Two days afterwards more gifts were made to him, and again others on the 3rd March. Some time elapsed, and on the 10th March and 23rd April 1708 he received the title of Maharajah and the rank of 3500 *zat* and 3000 horse (of which 1000 was *Duaspah*), a standard, and kettledrums ; while his eldest son, Abhai Singh, was appointed 1500, (300 horse), his second son, Rakhi Singh, 700, (200 horse), and the third and fourth sons each 500, (100 horse). [*Bahadur-Shah-nama*, 82 and 95 ; Kamraj, 37.]

The difficulty with Jodhpur being thus, to all appearance, satisfactorily disposed of, the Emperor retraced his steps from Mairtha and returned to Ajmer. On the way, on the 28th February 1708, the chief Qazi of the Empire, Qazi Khan, and Muhammad Ghaus *mufti* were ordered off to Jodhpur for the purpose of re-establishing there the public worship of the Muhammadan faith. An additional reason for believing that

the Rajputs would now remain quiet was the receipt of a deputation from Rana Amar Singh consisting of eleven persons headed by the Rana's brother, Bakht Singh. As we have said already, the Rana had fled from his capital on learning that Bahadur Shah was marching on Ajmer. A present of a jewelled dagger worth five thousand Rupees had been sent to him through his brother Bakht Singh, while a reassuring letter was addressed to him bidding him not to be afraid but remain in peace at his own abode. Bakht Singh on this second occasion received an elephant worth twelve thousand Rupees for his brother Rana Amar Singh. At the same time he and his eleven companions received robes of honour and were sent to their homes. [*Bahadur-Shah-nama,* 66-74.]

On the 24th March 1708, after sixteen marches* Bahadur Shah arrived at Ajmer on his return from Mairtha. He visited the city mosque and said his prayers there; and he also recited a short prayer (*fatiha*) at the shrine of Muin-ud-din Chishti. On the 2nd April the march was resumed in the direction of Chitor and Ujjain. On the 12th April the camp was not far from Husainipur. On the 14th Sultan Begi and others, six men in all, brought in a communication from Rana Amar Singh, with an offering of twenty-seven gold coins. The next day the Wazir reported that the Rana had again made off into the hills, in terror at His Majesty's near approach, nor would he agree to come in and do homage. The Emperor ruled that the matter of Kam Bakhsh was now more urgent. When, by God's aid, that business had been settled, he would undertake the punishment of that unbeliever, *i.e.*, the Rana. [*Bahadur-Shah-nama,* 89-94; *Dil.* 172*a*; Kamwar.]

Early in Safar the camp was in pargana Mandeshwar of subah Malwa, and on the 10th (30th April) when it was at the town of Mandeshwar itself it was learnt that Maharajah Ajit Singh, Rajah Jai Singh Kachhwaha, and Durgadas

* Kamraj, 37*a*, says that when the camp was at the village of Jitaran the feast of *jalus* (coronation anniversary) was held and then after *jushan* (rejoicings) for seven days and nights (18th to 25th Zul Hijja), the Emperor marched on to Ajmer.

4

Rathor, had taken to flight. [*Bahadur* 96-97 ; *Dil.* 172*b* ; Khush-hal 376*b*.]

Here we will leave the further development of events in Rajputana to be resumed at a future stage, and now turn to see what Kam Bakhsh had been doing meanwhile in the Dakhin. Here, too, we will break off our account of the Emperor's advance, merely noting that Bahadur Shah went through the Naunahra Pass on the 11th May 1708 and crossed the Narmada river into the Dakhin on the 17th of that month. [*Bahadur*, 100-101 ; *Dil.* 172*b*.]

SEC. 10.—MUHAMMAD KAM BAKHSH'S DOINGS IN THE DAKHIN.

We left Muhammad Kam Bakhsh, the youngest son of Alamgir, on his way from Ahmadnagar to his new Government at Bijapur. He had reached the fort of Parenda, a distance of seventy or eighty miles, when he heard of his father's death. The Turani Mughals under Muhammad Amin Khan without staying to ask leave, marched off to join Prince Muhammad Azam at Ahmadnagar. Kam Bakhsh's chief adviser Ahsan Khan (Mir Sultan Hasan called Mir Mallang) did what he could to rally the troops left and they resumed their march for Bijapur. As they approached that place, messages were sent to the commandant of the fort, Sayyid Niyaz Khan, promising him a rich reward if he would deliver up the town. At first he declined and commenced to put his walls in a state of defence and erect batteries in front of the gates. [K. K. 569.]

When the death of Alamgir became known Sayyid Niyaz Khan through the strenuous exertions of Ahsan Khan was induced to send the keys of the fortress and make his submission in person. Two months were then spent in settling affairs in the town and adjacent country. Ahsan Khan was then raised to the rank of *Panj Hazari* (5000) and permanently appointed to the post of Bakhshi or generalissimo, while Hakim Muhsin received the pen-case of Chief Minister with the title of Taqarrub Khan. Other leaders from the imperial army and the Prince's followers were rewarded with titles and gifts. A formal enthronement took place, the *khutba* or public prayer for the sovereign was read in Muhammad Kam

Bakhsh's name with the style of *Dinpanah*, 'Protector of the Faith', and coin was issued with the superscription :

Dar Dakin zad sikkah bar khurshid o mah
Padshah Kam Bakhsh-i-Dinpanah

"In the South struck coin on sun (= gold) and moon (= silver) the Emperor Kam Bakhsh, Protector of the Faith."*

When a force of 7000 to 8000 horsemen had been collected, Kam Bakhsh started to take Wakinkhera, which on the report of Alamgir's death had been re-occupied by Parya Naik. On the way Sayyid Niyaz Khan, leaving his tents standing, fled at night to join Azam Shah. The fort of Kulbarga was taken, and on the recommendation of Ahsan Khan, Sayyid Jafar Barha was placed in charge. On reaching Wakinkhera, the place was invested and after a siege of fifteen to twenty days was taken. Kam Bakhsh marched on to further conquests.

Meanwhile his ministers Taqarrub Khan and Ahsan Khan had quarrelled. The former now sent another commandant to replace Sayyid Jafar at Kulbarga. Sayyid Jafar refused to give possession and even when Kam Bakhsh in person reached the place, he still delayed delivery for several days. The discredit of this disobedience fell upon Ahsan Khan. The general had established a *ganj* or market-place calling it by his own name, and in order to attract traders he gave public notice that no dues would be levied. Taqarrub Khan represented that these measures affected the prosperity of the imperial market-place, Shahganj. Kam Bakhsh ordered Ahsan Khan to abolish his market. The general, although he complied, was exceedingly vexed at such a rebuff after all that he had done, and breaking the flagstaff of his market-place, sent the pieces to Taqarrub Khan.

Ahsan Khan's anger was appeased and he was sent against Karnul,† then held by Yusuf Khan. The *faujdar* made many

* K. K. 570, J. G. Delmerick in *Pro. A. S. B.* 1884, p. 92 and C. J. Rodgers in *J. A. S. B.* 1888, p. 28. The reading in the British Museum Catalogue (1892), pp. 164, 165 and 371, is erroneous, being founded on imperfect coins.

† About 90 m. south of Haidarabad.

difficulties, but after some time, as the result of much negotiation, he agreed to make a payment of three lakhs of Rupees. Ahsan Khan then raised the siege. His next expedition was towards Arkat, of which the then *faujdar* was Daud Khan, of the Panni tribe of Afghans. In this country, in spite of his troops suffering from want of food, Ahsan Khan did much for his master's cause. [*Dil.* 171*b.*]

As the effect of his traducer's exertions, Ahsan Khan found Kam Bakhsh was turned against him, and his prestige suffered accordingly. Still he in no way diminished his exertions. The next campaign was directed against Golkonda and Haidarabad, of which latter the subahdar in Alamgir's reign, Rustam Dil Khan,* was still in possession. This officer, a man of a good family and well-known, was persuaded by Ahsan Khan's conciliatory letters to submit himself. Similar overtures were made to the commandant of Golkonda, but that officer, pleading a *farman* from Bahadur Shah, refused to surrender. Rustam Dil Khan, to whom had been sent a *farman* signed by Kam Bakhsh and backed by oaths on the *Quran*, came out at the head of 4,000 or 5,000 horsemen to pay his respects. It was then decided, following on the advice of Ahsan Khan, to leave for the present the fort of Golkonda untouched and provide for the reduction to order of the adjacent country and the collection of the revenue. During this time supplies could be prevented from reaching Golkonda. [K. K. 608.]

The Wazir, Taqarrub Khan (Hakim Muhammad Muhsin), now joined forces with the Prince's eunuchs and one Sayyid Ahmad for the purpose of ruining Ahsan Khan. Sayyid Ahmad was originally a protege of Ahsan Khan's, but now for some reason or other had turned against him. Ahsan Khan, puffed up with a belief in his fortunate star, and relying with the rashness of youth upon the great services that he had done

* Rustam Dil Khan (*M. U.* ii. 324) was the son of Mir Bahadur Dil, entitled Jan Sipar Khan (*M. U.* i. 535), son of Sayyid Mukhtar Khan Mukhtari Sabzawari (*ibid* iii. 409). His mother was a daughter of Khan Zaman (*ibid* i. 785), son of Azam Khan. [*T.-Mdi,* year 1120.]

for his master, took no steps to counteract the machinations of his enemies. Often, with a view to consultation on public business, Ahsan Khan, Saif Khan (who had taught archery to Kam Bakhsh), Arshad Khan, Nasir Khan and Ahmad Khan, met and talked with Rustam Dil Khan in private. These meetings were used by Taqarrub Khan, Ihtida Khan and the other men envious of Ahsan Khan, as a means of accusation and they easily succeeded in arousing the suspicions of Kam Bakhsh. [Kamwar, 25.]

For years past Kam Bakhsh had been noted for a violence of disposition approaching to insanity. The suspicions now instilled into him raised this latent ferocity to the highest point, and as Khafi Khan expresses it "he hacked his own foot with the hatchet of ill-success". Taqarrub Khan and the other conspirators persuaded the Prince into a belief that the constant meetings and hospitable entertainments between Ahsan Khan and Rustam Dil Khan covered a plot of seizing him, (Kam Bakhsh), while on his way to the Friday prayer at the great mosque. If he did not anticipate them, their plans would soon be carried to a successful issue.

The Prince fell at once into the snare and resolved to strike first. He wrote a note to Rustam Dil Khan, inviting him to take part in drafting a reply to the letter received from Bahadur Shah, of which we shall speak presently. Early in the morning, before the sun had risen, Rustam Dil Khan, took his pen-case and repaired to the Prince's quarters. Kam Bakhsh told him to send away the crowd and sit down with his writing materials in the praying tent where, as soon as he (Kam Bakhsh) had eaten his breakfast, he would join him. Then they would confer and draft the reply to Bahadur Shah. Rustam Dil Khan, free of all suspicion, took off his weapons, as he did daily, and went into the tent. In a moment Kam Bakhsh's men, seizing the unsuspecting subahdar and his sons, placed them in confinement.

As Kam Bakhsh had been informed that notes and messages had passed between Ahsan Khan, Saif Khan and Rustam Dil Khan, he caused the pen-case of the prisoner to be searched. There a letter was found from Saif Khan addressed to Rustam Dil Khan. It was a reply to an enquiry

as to how the advisers of Kam Bakhsh were to be approached and its purport was that it was best to work first for the consent of Ahsan Khan, next for that of Ahmad Khan and then that of the others. The perusal of this letter had the erroneous effect of convincing the Prince of these men's disaffection. After an imprisonment of three days he ordered that Rustam Dil Khan, bound hand and foot, should be thrown under the feet of his own elephant. But, in spite of all their efforts to carry out this order, the elephant would not injure Rustam Dil Khan. Another elephant was brought, the prisoner was trodden to death under its feet, and his body paraded through the city. It was then buried under the trees in the garden of the Imli Mahal, near a palace of the former kings.

Some say that before Rustam Dil Khan's arrest the Prince sent a company of men to surround and occupy his house. His wife, who was of the family of Mukhtar Khan, Bani Mukhtar, prepared to resist. She had already killed and wounded several of the men, when Ahsan Khan persuaded her to abandon these fruitless efforts. The lady, Mir Hasam, brother of the subahdar, and a son were taken as prisoners to Kam Bakhsh. Then Rustam Dil Khan's execution was ordered and his house was confiscated.

Saif Khan was next taken, the note from him being held sufficient proof of his disloyalty, and the order was given to cut off his right hand. Saif Khan, who had been Kam Bakhsh's instructor in the use of the bow, tried with prayers and entreaties to persuade his master that the letter was quite harmless, nay a proof of loyalty. It was all of no use; his hand was cut off. Saif Khan then began to curse the Prince. What better proof of low origin on his mother's side* could there be than this, that for no fault he should order the hand to be cut off that had taught him how to shoot! Saif Khan's concubine had been dragged to the spot, and seeing what had

* Udaipuri Mahal, the mother of Kam Bakhsh, had been a dancing girl before entering the *harem* of Dara Shukoh, from whom she was taken by Alamgir. (Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib*, i. 64n.) [J. S.]

been done to him, she fell down and died. Ahmad Khan Afghan was directed to bind the culprit, lay him flat on the ground, and drive vicious horses backwards and forwards over him till he died. From these injuries coupled with the severing of his hand and the pulling out of his tongue, Saif Khan soon expired.

The tongue of Arshad Khan, grandson of the Arshad Khan who had been diwan of the Dakhin, was also cut out ; but, strange to say, his speech was not much affected. The dead bodies of the others were tied upon donkeys and paraded in derision through the town ; after this ceremony, they were buried in the Imli garden by the side of Rustam Dil Khan.

Many officers of position who were friendly to Ahsan Khan, and some of his other advisers had heard that his imprisonment and execution were under discussion. They advised him to mount his women on swift horses and make off for the camp of Bahadur Shah, which could be reached in two or three days. They offered to bring 3000 or 4000 horsemen to escort him. If he did not escape, they said, his life would be taken with indignity. Ahsan Khan was so popular in the army that if he had made known publicly his intention to desert Kam Bakhsh, the whole force, leaders and all, would have accompanied him.

In spite of what had happened, Ahsan Khan still relied upon the greatness of the services he had rendered, and could not be aroused to a sense of his danger. He paid no heed to any warning. "It is not possible," he said, "that a loyal hereditary servant of the crown, such as I am, could ever be thus suspected by the Prince he serves, whatever his enemies may say." At length Ahsan Khan, too, was enticed from his house, and it was only when he was placed in custody that he awoke from his dreams, and when it was too late began to think of his own preservation. He sent word to his house to remove everything they could in the shape of valuables and money to a place of safety. His dependents, before the confiscation of his goods was effected, collected as much as they could of jewels and gold coins (*ashrafis* and *huns*), placed

them in a box, and sent them to the house of an Afghan who was under great obligations to Ahsan Khan.

Every day Ashan Khan's imprisonment increased in severity. His goods were confiscated, and in a few days, by the exertions of his enemies and the cowardice of the Afghan in whose house it was deposited, the box of jewels was traced and brought to Kam Bakhsh. In his presence it was opened. Seeing the purses* full of gold coins, he exclaimed "These held the letters sent to him by Rustam Dil Khan advising him to seize me." His rage was intensified, and day by day he devised new tortures. Half a pound of cooked rice and spices with an excessive amount of salt was fixed as the prisoner's daily ration ; he was kept in chains, and exposed to the pouring rain and the burning sun. Twice poison was tried, but without effect. Two or three months elapsed, during which these tortures were continued, and at length the poor victim breathed his last.

Other crazy acts were done by Kam Bakhsh, in his fits of madness and suspicion, without making any investigation. For instance when Matabar Khan, Bahadur Shah's envoy, arrived, some of Kam Bakhsh's ill-intentioned and foolish advisers persuaded him that the envoy had come at the head of a specially selected escort of reckless men with the intention, should he find an opportunity, of making away with Kam Bakhsh. As soon as he heard these silly words Kam Bakhsh demanded a list of the envoy's retinue, on the pretext of fixing their daily allowances. Now, some of the Haidarabad citizens, on the strength of their knowledge of the *Quran*, had struck up an acquaintance with Matabar Khan. At their request their names were included in this list. Kam Bakhsh invited the whole of the men to a feast, to which some seventy-five persons came. On their assembling, the Prince ordered them to be bound, and taken by the light of torches in parties of ten to different quarters of the city and there executed.† The

* *Kharita* in the original Persian, meaning a bag in which a letter, when sent to a great person, is enclosed.

† Yahya Khan, 114*a*, says that news came to Bahadur Shah's camp

mother of two newly married boys made lamentation, but in spite of her cries and her assertions that they did not belong to the envoy's suite, they were executed with the rest. Mulla Said-ud-din, *mufti* of Haidarabad, who had refused to give a legal opinion in favour of the execution of the prisoners, and many of the strict Muhammadan men of learning, taking their families with them, abandoned the city in disgust. Bahadur Shah's envoy himself was imprisoned and subjected to indignities.

SEC. 11.—BAHADUR SHAH ADVANCES INTO THE DAKHIN AGAINST KAM BAKHSH.

When we left him (17th May, 1708), Bahadur Shah had just crossed the Narmada. At this time a conciliatory letter* was prepared and sent to Kam Bakhsh. His elder brother tells him that after he had reached Lahor he had received reliable news of their father's death. Although he desired to write then a consolatory letter, the stoppage of the roads had prevented him. He had hurried on to Dihli in the hope of restoring order, when he learnt that Prince Azam Shah had reached Gwaliyar from the Dakhin bent on hostilities. Remonstrances were addressed to him, but, relying on his numerous army and artillery and elephants, he had declined to listen and had crossed the Chambal. Further efforts for peace were made, but on the day that his (Bahadur Shah's) tents were sent to Jajau, Azam Shah took the initiative and began an attack, the result being that he and two sons were killed, while Ali Tabar, another son, and some grandsons were made prisoners. Bahadur Shah trusts that these events will be a warning to Kam Bakhsh not to trust in the idle advice of short-sighted persons and that, contenting himself with what their honoured father had allotted to him, he would refrain from crossing the river Bhimra. Bahadur Shah proposed to visit his father's tomb near Aurangabad, and his brother's (Kam Bakhsh's)

---

that Kam Bakhsh in his madness had tortured men by placing them in boiling oil.

* K. K. 608, Kamwar 22, *Bahadur* 106—107.

mother (Udaipuri Mahal) having lately expired at Gwaliyar, he had carried out her dying wishes with regard to her household and had forwarded her remains for burial in a grove close to the shrine of Qutb-ul-Aqtab at Dihli. He trusted that Kam Bakhsh would not give way to sorrow but gain patience by resignation to God's will. Their sister Zinat-un-nissa Begam, had taken his (Kam Bakhsh's) daughter with her to Dihli.

In reply, after reciting the chief points of Bahadur Shah's letter, and returning the usual formalities of thanks, Kam Bakhsh wrote evasively, recounting the course of action he had adopted, without either explaining or justifying it. After reaching Bijapur he had learnt that Dildar Khan had given up the fort of Rahman-Bakhsh [*i.e.*, Wakinkhera], for which act his chastisement was required. After recovering the fort, he had made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Sayyid Muhammad Chishti Gisudaraz [at Kulbarga]. There word was brought to him of the oppression to which the poor people of Haidarabad were subject and he felt it incumbent on him to rescue them from the oppressor. As Bahadur Shah already knew, from the reports received on the 27th January 1708, that Kam Bakhsh had coined money and stood forward as an independent sovereign, it was hardly likely that such an answer would be considered satisfactory. Nor was Munim Khan, the chief minister, more successful in a respectful remonstrance addressed by him to Kam Bakhsh with Bahadur Shah's permission. He was not even favoured with a reply. [*Bahadur* 108.]

As Kam Bakhsh thus turned a deaf ear to all overtures, as shown by his very vague answer received on the 4th June 1708, Bahadur Shah continued his march. From the 22nd to the 25th June was taken up in crossing the Tapti river then in high flood. The route taken from Burhanpur was by Malkapur and Nader, on the Godavari, in the direction of Haidarabad. On the way (28th June 1708) a report was brought that Kam Bakhsh, hearing that the diwan of Machhlibandar held thirty-two lakhs of imperial treasure, had sent a force against him. The subahdar Jan Sipar Khan (Rustam Dil Khan) forbade the diwan to deliver the cash. Kam Bakhsh enraged by this interference and his own suspicions, as already related,

took Rustam Dil Khan's life and confiscated his goods. The same report intimated that four thousand new men had been enlisted and sent to reinforce the attack on Machhlibandar, that four lakhs of Rupees had been levied from the money-lenders of Haidarabad, and that Ashan Khan (as we have already seen) had been thrown into prison. Bahadur Shah at once conferred the usual mourning robes on Khan Alam Bahadur-Shahi and Mukhtar Khan, cousins of Rustam Dil Khan. [*Bahadur* 106, 116—117 ; K.K. 619 ; Kamwar 25.]

The next intelligence received was from the Kulbarga fort. After Kam Bakhsh had taken it the garrison rose, ejected the new commandant, and now held it on behalf of Bahadur Shah, from whom they demanded recognition and support. Darab Khan and his troops were ordered to make a rapid advance to Kulbarga. Not many days after this (13th August 1708), Daler Khan Bijapuri reported his desertion from Kam Bakhsh and asked for audience. On the 24th August 1708 the army crossed the Banganga, and the next day letters came announcing that Kam Bakhsh had put Ahsan Khan to death. This was followed (11th Sept. 1708) by the news that, after Kam Bakhsh had killed Rustam Dil Khan Ahsan Khan and some fifty men who had accompanied Matabar Khan, most of his troops had deserted. On the 7th October another river was crossed and twenty days later (5th November 1708) the Emperor's camp was pitched at Zafarabad Bidar, 67 miles north of Haidarabad. As Bahadur Shah's camp drew near, desertions from Kam Bakhsh became more and more frequent. They learnt that on the 1st November Shamsher Khan, Pam Naik, brother of the zamindar of Wakinkhera, and other local chiefs, at the head of 30,000 horse and 6,000 foot, had departed during the night from Kam Bakhsh's camp at Haidarabad and marched towards Bijapur. The next morning Kam Bakhsh annexed all their belongings. As they now petitioned for employment, Bahadur Shah ordered his advisers to make proposals about the rank to be accorded to each. A number of them were presented to the Emperor on the 15th November. [*Bahadur* 128—137 ; Kamraj 37*b*.]

Nazar Beg Khan, commandant of the fortress at Haidarabad

(Golkonda), reported that he had succeeded in not yielding up his charge to Kam Bakhsh. His loyalty was suitably acknowledged by a considerable increase to his rank. The desertions from Kam Bakhsh increased in volume as time went on. At length his Bakhshi informed him that owing to the non-receipt of pay his troops were deserting daily in large numbers. The Prince gave the insensate answer "What need have I of enlisting men? My trust is in God, and whatever is best will happen." The Bakhshi assumed this as a sufficient order of dismissal and left the camp. Such soldiers as remained were in a very disheartened condition. There were not more than five hundred horsemen left. It was thought that Kam Bakhsh might attempt to escape by sea to Persia and orders to intercept him were sent to all sea-ports. Zulfiqar Khan promised to Mr. Pitt, governor of Madras, the sum of two lakhs of Rupees and extension of the Company's privileges, if he would apprehend the Prince. Mr. Pitt agreed to stop him, but refused the present.* [*Bahadur* 156 ; Grant Duff, i. 187.]

Daud Khan Panni, Zulfiqar Khan's deputy in the Karnatak, had been summoned to the presence. He arrived on the 7th December 1708 and was presented. Next day he paraded his troops together with a hundred elephants, for which he had received an order in Alamgir's lifetime. He also brought eleven lakhs of Rupees and nineteen elephants for Zulfiqar Khan. [*Bahadur* 164.]

From the best available information, the statement of Sayyid Ghazanfar, who had lately left Kam Bakhsh, it seemed that the Prince still had 2,500 cavalry and 5,000 infantry armed with matchlocks. Word now came (20th December 1708) that Kam Bakhsh had sent out to Talab-i-Mir Jumla, a reservoir in the neighbourhood of Haidarabad, twenty-five large and fifty small pieces, three hundred camel-swivels and twenty

* Kam Bakhsh's misplaced reliance on God gives Danishmand Khan an occasion which he improves, at length coming to the satisfactory conclusion, reinforced with poetical quotations, that until you have done all that reason and experience require you have no right to use the ejaculation, *Raza ba qaza* "The Lord's will be done."

thousand rockets. Nusrat Khan, his diwan, was placed in charge. [*Bahadur* 167.]

SEC. 12.—DEFEAT AND DEATH OF KAM BAKHSH.

Preparations were now made for the final struggle, to avoid which appeared impossible. At first Prince Jahandar Shah was placed in command of the vanguard with directions to prepare entrenchments round the encampment. But two days afterwards Jahandar Shah was replaced by Khan Zaman, the eldest son of the Prime Minister. Precautions were adopted against a surprise, the Wazir with his troops being drawn up on the road till all the rest of the army and its baggage had gone by. Scouts brought word that Kam Bakhsh in person had moved out two *kos* from Haidarabad and had made ready earthworks at the place where he had encamped. Islam Khan, general of artillery, was sent to take charge of Bahadur Shah's batteries. On the 9th January 1708 Khan Zaman Bahadur was called in to receive his last private instructions in the tasbih-khana, or chaplet-room, a jewelled sword was presented to him, and he returned to take command of the advance-tents. The plan of battle made out by Zulfiqar Khan, after it had been shown to Prince Jahandar Shah and Hamid-ud-din Khan was approved. On the 10th January 1709 it was ascertained that Kam Bakhsh had advanced one *kos* from his previous position. [*Bahadur,* 170-173.]

On the 12th January 1709 Bahadur Shah pitched his tents near the city of Haidarabad and mustered his troops. From the reports submitted to him, it was found that there were 140,000 horsemen and 180,000 foot matchlockmen present. One of the last men of name to come in was Jalal-ud-din Khan, general of artillery to Kam Bakhsh, who saw at length that his master was doomed to destruction. Many others of less note marched in from Haidarabad on the following day. Kam Bakhsh had neither army nor money left. His sole dependence was on the soothsayers and astrologers who prophesied that he would be miraculously protected and win the battle. Emboldened by such idle words, the Prince came out to give battle two or three *kos* from Haidarabad. His generals were

Taqarrub Khan (Muhammad Muhsin), Abdur-Razaq Khan Lari (M. Masum), and M. Karim, his brother, with some slaves and foster-brethren, and some 300 to 400 horsemen. [*Bahadur*, 174 ; K.K. 621 ; Kamraj 38 *b*.]

On the morning of the 13th January 1709 the order was given for the troops to advance in two bodies, that on the right under command of Munim Khan assisted by the Princes Rafi-ush-shan and Jahan Shah ; that on the left, under Zulfiqar Khan, Amir-ul-umara. The first numbering 10,000 to 12,000 men was made up of Daud Khan Panni, Nimaji Sindhia and Rustam Khan's troops, having at their head fifteen or sixteen leaders of a rank high enough to ride on elephants. The second force, that under Zulfiqar Khan, consisted of 14,000 to 15,000 men. Their orders were not to precipitate an attack but to take up positions so as to surround the grove in which Kam Bakhsh had sheltered himself, and to avoid useless slaughter. [*Bahadur* 174, Kamwar 29, K.K. 621, Kamraj 38*a*, *Dil.* 171 *b*.]

At about two hours after sunrise Munim Khan, Zulfiqar Khan and Prince Rafi-ush-shan marched and drew up at the distance of a musket-shot from Kam Bakhsh's position. Prince Jahan Shah had not yet arrived. The order in which they stood was as follows : on the right was Prince Rafi-ush-shan half a kos from Munim Khan, and on the latter's left hand Zulfiqar Khan at the distance of a rocket's flight. They halted and waited orders, and as they were prohibited from attacking, they stood until near midday. Repeated messages were sent to the Emperor, but whether it was intentionally or because he was taking his customary sleep, no answer was received .

Zulfiqar Khan, who had an old quarrel with Kam Bakhsh,* became very impatient. After many private messages to Munim Khan he attacked Kam Bakhsh whose small force, leaving the cooking with which they had been busy, had drawn up in order of battle outside the grove where they were encamped. Munim Khan was thus forced to order an advance

* This dated from the time of the siege of Jinji, 1693. (*M.A.* 355-359; K. K. ii. 418-421; *Anecdotes of Aurangzib* §25; *Storia do Mogor*, ii. 316*n*.) [J. S.]

of the right wing. As Kam Bakhsh had very few men but a large number of rockets, he directed that the latter should be discharged against the advancing imperialists. As they drew near several of Kam Bakhsh's devoted adherents were shot down. Kam Bakhsh grasped his bow and let fly his arrows, and regardless of several wounds that he had received charged the overwhelming force opposed to him. So boldly did he bear himself that Daud Khan's troops were partially thrown into confusion and some even took to flight. Kam Bakhsh emptied two quiverfuls of arrows killing and wounding many of his opponents. At length he was weakened by loss of blood and Daud Khan's Afghans surrounding his elephant on all sides succeeded in capturing him. With him was taken his son, Bariqullah,* who also was wounded in several places.

His eldest son Muhi-us-sunnat also fought bravely till his elephant-driver and the friend seated behind the Prince were both slain. The Prince proceeded to drive the elephant himself and continued to fight until he became insensible from wounds from shot and arrows and fell down in his *howda*, leaving the elephant to rush hither and thither on the field. As all the leaders were directing their attention to Kam Bakhsh, no one noticed the young Prince's elephant. Plunderers got upon it, cut off the silken ropes and the broad-cloth trappings and took away everything they could carry off. The elephant escaped into the open country and was brought back under Zulfiqar Khan's orders by the Mahrattas who were hanging round the army with a view to plunder.

Over the capture of Prince Kam Bakhsh a dispute had already arisen between Munim Khan, the Wazir, and Zulfiqar Khan, the Amir-ul-umara. The question was submitted to Prince Rafi-ush-shan, who decided that Zulfiqar Khan was the captor. The only notable person killed on the imperial side was Jalal-ud-din Khan, an officer serving under Munim Khan. After the battle Khafi Khan, the historian, counted sixty-two

---

* Kamraj (38*b*) says that Firuzmand was in the same *howda* with his father and was taken. K. K. (623 and 625) says the same thing. Was he the same person as Bariqullah? [J. S.]

dead bodies round the place where Kam Bakhsh was taken. Plunderers by their recklessness caused the reserve of powder and rockets to blow up, occasioning the death of twenty-four persons.

It was afternoon when Kam Bakhsh was brought in a *palki* to Bahadur Shah. Shortly afterwards his three sons, Muhi-us-sunnat, Firuzmand, and Bariqullah were brought in as prisoners. Bariqullah expired almost at once from an arrow-wound in the temple.* By the Emperor's orders the Prince and his sons were placed near his own quarters in the tent used as a tribunal (*adalat*). Rafi-ush-shan was charged with looking after their comfort and the most skilful surgeons were called to attend to their wounds. Then the Emperor went in person to his brother's bedside. After a salutation he said, "I had no desire to see you reduced to this state." Kam Bakhsh returned the greeting and said, "In all things praise be to the Lord."† Then he added that he had left on his elephant a copy of the *Quran* written and corrected with his own hand, he begged that it might be sent for as he wished to read it. Bahadur Shah washed the dry blood from his brother's wounds and with his own hands removed his blood-stained clothes. Then removing from his own shoulders the shawl he was wearing he laid it over his brother, and by urgent entreaty forced him to take a few spoonfuls of food, which till then he had persistently refused. On his asking for water Bahadur Shah mixed some rose-water in the drink and put it to Kam Bakhsh's lips. Bahadur Shah quitted the bedside full of sorrow and ordered the surgeons to exercise their utmost skill. In spite of all their efforts, Kam Bakhsh expired during the night. Next morning no audience was held, and Qazi Khan, the chief Qazi, and Muhammad Ghaus, the chief *mufti*,

* The text follows Danishmand Khan and Kamwar Khan. Khafi Khan says it was Firuzmand who died. Both Khafi Khan and Kamwar Khan were in the camp; but the latter is the preferable witness, as he seems to have written his account on the spot from day to day.

† One account tells us that he went on to say that he had tried so to die that the reproach of want of courage and of a nice sense of honour should not attach to one of the house of Taimur. (K. K. 625.)

with other religious men, were entrusted with the preparations for the grave. As the bier was brought out of the *adalat* tent, the Emperor, his sons and the chief nobles recited the appropriate prayers. The bodies were placed temporarily in the tent, where were kept the relics received from Mecca. Finally they were despatched to Dihli on the 23rd January in charge of Arab Khan for burial in the imperial mausoleum of the Emperor Humayun. (Kamraj, 39*a*). Darbar Khan, *nazir* of the female apartments, took charge of the deceased Prince's women and children, who were brought from Haidarabad. For the two surviving sons of Kam Bakhsh, Muhi-us-sunnat and Firuzmand, who were only slightly wounded, allowances were fixed and a proper equipment granted.

Kam Bakhsh was forty-three years of age and his descendants are named in the subjoined table. The following chronograms for his death were composed by Danishmand Khan (poetically called Ali).

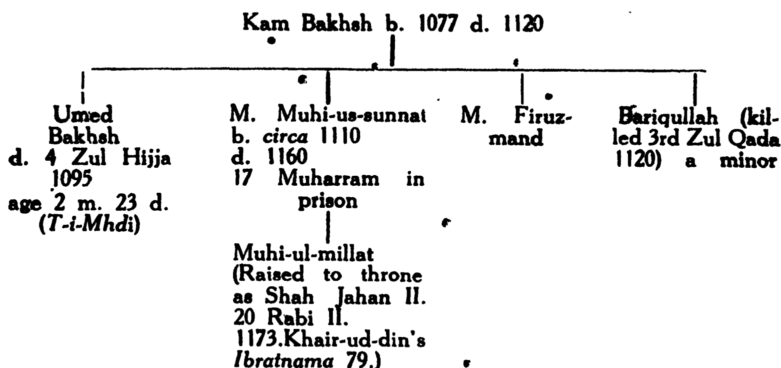
Alam-i-digar az fath o zafar bastain,
Ham zeb-i-jahan farod, o ham kuvvat-i-din ;
Az chahar taraf, Mubarak badi !
Tarikh shavvad, barae in fath-i-mabin.

"Through victory and conquest a new universe arose, the world was adorned and the faith too reinforced ; from four sides came *Congratulation* ! to form the date of this manifest triumph." Another specimen of the same writer's ingenuity is :

Kushta shud an zalim, o tarikh shud
"Kam hama bud ajal Kam Bakhsh" ;
Murd, o ba in taur mibakhshid Kam,
Rast bar amad sakhun i nam-bakhsh.

"That tyrant was slain, and the date was 'Kam Bakhsh's only pursuit (Kam) was death'. He died, and in that way fulfilled desire (Kam). Thus was the name-giving word verified." The play upon *Kam Bakhsh* (fulfiller of desire) is almost untranslatable.

TABLE OF KAM BAKHSH'S DESCENDANTS*



His wives, so far as traced, were (1) Fakhr Jahan Khanam, daughter of Barkhurdar Beg, married on 13th Muharram 1092, (2) Jamilat-un-nissa (Kaliyan Kuar) daughter of Amar Chand and sister of Jagat Singh of Manoharpur, married on 24th Rajab 1092 and (3) Azarm Banu Begam, daughter of Mir Muazzam Sayadat Khan, afterwards Muazzam Khan, second son of Shah Nawaz Khan Safawi, married on 15th Rabi I. 1094.

The last named died at Dihli on the 13th February, 1745. The eldest son Umed Bakhsh was born in 1095 and died the same year. Muhi-us-sunnat died in prison at Dihli on the 28th January 1747, his age being given as about fifty years, but he must have been somewhat older, for he was born before 1107 H. Kam Bakhsh had some daughters, one of whom was married on the 20th Nov. 1709 to Muhammad Karim, son of Azim-ush-shan.

BAHADUR SHAH RETURNS TOWARDS HINDUSTAN.

On the 17th January 1709 the Emperor moved nearer to Haidarabad visiting the battlefield on his way, escorted by Zulfiqar Khan who pointed out to him the various places of interest. A visit was paid to the palaces of Haidarabad on

* K. K. 510 says that a son of Kam Bakhsh named Muhi-ul-millat died at Puna at the age of ten in 1114, and the city was renamed *Muhiabad* in honour of him. No other authority mentions any son of Kam Bakhsh bearing this name, though Puna was certainly renamed Muhiabad at the end of Aurangzib's reign. [J. Sarkar.]

the 26th January, and two days afterwards the advance-tents were sent out on the road to Aurangabad. The first march was made to Talab-i-Mir Jumla on the 1st February 1709; on the 5th March they camped three *kos* from Zafarabad Bidar; on the 19th March they were near Ahsanabad Kulbarga; on the 4th May the camp was in Farrah Bagh near Ahmadnagar. The other principal stages until the Narmada was crossed were: Daluganu [? Dahigaon] after crossing the Banganga, 4th June; Bagh Nawab Bai, 9th June; near Aurangabad, 19th June; march through the Fardapur Pass, camp at Nawab Bai's sarai, 25th August; crossed the Tapti, 6th October; camp on the bank of the Narmada, 2nd November, and here the month of Ramzan was passed; crossed the Narmada, 25th December, 1709. [*Bahadur* 177,183.]

SECTION 13.—THE SECOND RAJPUT RISING.

When Bahadur Shah left Ajmer on his march for the Dakhin, he took with him Rajah Jai Singh Kachhwaha and Maharajah Ajit Singh Rathor. Their acquiescence in this semi-captivity was apparently nothing but a mask for further plans. As already stated they escaped from the Emperor's camp on the 30th April 1708, when it was near *Mandeshwar* in Malwa. A month afterwards (30th May) it was ascertained that they had gone to Rana Amar Singh at Udaipur. In a few days information was received that a daughter of Jai Singh had been promised to the Rana, and that the three chiefs had entered into an agreement for joint resistance. This was in spite of the fact that the Rana had sent in letters professing submission. [*Bahadur*, 110.]

In July 1708* Jodhpur was surrounded by thirty thousand Rathor horse; and after five days Mihrab Khan the *faujdar*, through the intervention of Durgadas Rathor, capitulated and was allowed to retreat with honour. The Jodhpur bard, who is Tod's authority, places Jai Singh Kachhwaha in the

* All Tod's dates are out by one year, as he deducts 56 instead of 57 years from the Sambat year to find the Christian era,—following the Southern instead of the Northern mode of calculating the commencement of the Sambat year.

background and leaves him encamped through the rainy season of 1708 at Sur Sagar, apparently an artificial lake close to Jodhpur town. But the Muhammadan writers tell us that on the 19th June it was announced to the Emperor that the combined Rajahs had made an attack on Amber. Seven days afterwards a further report was received that they had defeated the *faujdar* of Hindaun and Biana, places 70 and 50 miles south-west of Agra. As they were then parganas of the Agra subah, the governor of that province, Amir Khan, was directed by the Emperor to assemble troops and march to suppress the outbreak. [*Bahadur* 116, Kamwar 25.]

In a few days a letter came from Shujat Khan Barha, subahdar of Ajmer, informing His Majesty that the Rajahs, having collected 2000 horsemen and 15,000 infantry, had sent this force against Amber, under the leadership of Ram Chand and Sanwaldas. Sayyid Husain Khan, Ahmad Said Khan, and Mahmud Khan, reinforced by 2000 horse and 1000 foot sent by the subahdar, had come out to meet the enemy, of whom seven hundred were slain. Shujat Khan said he had rewarded Husain Khan, and hoped that his own good service would be appreciated. This lying report being accepted as true, there was much rejoicing in the imperial camp, with a distribution of gifts and liberal promotions. (*Bahadur* 122.)

Meanwhile Asad Khan, the Wakil-i-mutlaq, was ordered to move from Dihli to Agra and to take the necessary steps to reduce that part of the country to order. Khan Dauran (formerly Chin Qilich Khan) subahdar of Oudh, Khan Jahan (son of Khan Jahan Kokaltash) subahdar of Allahabad, and Muhammad Amin Khan, faujdar of Muradabad, were directed to move with half of their troops to reinforce Asad Khan. Sayyid Husain Khan, *faujdar* of Mewat, wrote to the subahdar of Dihli for reinforcements. He had only one hundred petty officers and their troops with him, and he required two or three lakhs of Rupees to enlist more men. Mhd. Yar Khan passed the letter on to Asad Khan on the ground that Amber and the other places threatened were not in the province of Dihli. Asad Khan granted one lakh of Rupees in cash and said his own troops should be sent as a reinforcement. [Khush-hal, 377*a*.] It was

only on the 21st August 1708 that the full truth was known at the Emperor's camp. Rajah Jai Singh at the head of nearly 20,000 men, horse and foot, had made a night attack on the fort at Amber and had ejected Sayyid Husain Khan the imperial faujdar.

After the rainy season was over the Rajputs marched by way of Mairtha to Ajmer, then northwards towards Sambhar, which was a garrison town of the Muhammadans. To meet this inroad Sayyid Husain Khan Barha*, *faujdar* of Mewat, accompanied by his younger brothers, Ahmad Said Khan *faujdar* of Mairtha Sangalhana and Ghairat Khan, *faujdar* of Narnol, marched in all haste at the head of such troops as he could collect. As the result of his first onset, the Rajputs beat a retreat, leaving their tents standing, with all their baggage. Everything fell into the hands of the Sayyid. But the Rajahs had not gone more than four or five miles when word was brought to them that the Muhammadan leader, with his two brothers and other relations and many of his clansmen had been slain. [Warid, ii. 156—9; Tod ii. 79; K. K. 651; *Dil.* 173*a*.]

It seems that as their enemy disappeared from the field, the Sayyids' drums began to beat in honour of the victory. But Husain Khan espied one corner where a Rajput commander, with two thousand matchlockmen, was still busy in hastily loading his baggage camels. Enraged at this sight, Husain Khan hurried his elephant in that direction and was followed by a small group of horsemen. The Rajputs stood on an elevation; the Sayyid drew up on the low land beneath it. As they approached, their enemy delivered a musket volley and turned to flee. But this first discharge had been unexpectedly deadly in its effects. The faujdar, his two brothers, and some fifty followers, before they had even time to draw their swords, were laid low. The death of the leaders was fatal to the Muhammadans' cause. Their men, already scattered and looking for

* Called by Khafi Khan "the subahdar of Ajmer"; but Warid more correctly says he was faujdar of Mewat. Shujat Khan Barha was the subahdar of Ajmer.

plunder in the Rajput encampment or in the town of Sambhar, dispersed in every direction and sought for shelter wherever they could find it.

For some time the Rajahs refused to believe the reports of Husain Khan's death, but at length they retraced their footsteps. Husain Khan's body was found still seated in the *howda* on his elephant, which had taken up its position beside a tank. He and the men around him were buried where they were found. The other slain were placed in common graves or "martyr-heaps" [*ganj-i-shahid*].* Round Husain Khan's tomb a mango orchard was planted and a handsome tomb erected. When Warid wrote, twenty-five years afterwards, the Rajputs round about invoked the name of Husain Khan every morning as they buckled on their swords.

The attack by Sanwaldas, an officer in the Rana's service, upon Firuz Khan, the *faujdar* of Poorh Mandal, which is placed by Tod in the same year, took place in the following year. Firuz Khan was obliged to retreat with great loss to Ajmer, but Sanwaldas himself was killed. In the same year (4th August 1709) the Malwa news-letter brought a false report of Rana Amar Singh's death.† [Tod i. 400 ; Kamwar 48.]

* According to the *M. U.* ii. 500 (under Sayyid Husain Khan) S. Husain K. was faujdar of Amber. On hearing of the flight of the Rajahs and their intention to attack he made ready at Amber with his three sons, Abu Said Khan, Ghairat Kh., Hasan Kh., his brother-in-law Mahabat Kh. and two sisters' sons Mhd. Zaman Khan and Sayyid Masaud Khan. His newly raised troops on the arrival of the Rajputs lost their heads and fled. The Khan came out of Amber with a small force and opposed Durgadas Rathor in the plain of Kalah Dahra. The Rajputs were defeated but the Khan's camp was plundered and the son left in charge of it was killed. Next day the Khan retreated in great disorder and reached Narnol and there collected fresh troops. Again there was a fight near Sambhar against R. Jai Singh. At the beginning the Khan got the upper hand; but suddenly 2000 to 3000 matchlockmen left in hiding behind a sand hill discharged their guns. The Khan with his small force was surrounded. He and his leaders were killed. Mhd. Zaman Kh. and S. Masaud Kh. were taken prisoners. The first was executed and the second, then about 16, was brought to the Rajah. His tomb is situated in a *bagh* at Sambhar. Built by the Rajah.

† Tod's date of 1716 A.D. for Amar Singh's death (i. 404) also seems incorrect. The true date appears to be the 29th Shawwal 1122 (20th Dec.

Conciliatory measures were for the time being adopted by Bahadur Shah, and Jai Singh seems to have opened negotiations. At any rate on the 6th October 1708, on the intercession of Prince Azim-ush-shan, Jai Singh and Ajit Singh were restored to their rank in the Mughal service. Jai Singh's rank was 2000 *zat*, (2000 horse, 1000 *Duaspah*) with 15 lakhs of *dam* in gift (*inam*). Another measure was the appointment of a new subahdar in the person of Sayyid Abdullah Khan Barha. On the 17th October 1708 he received the usual presents, the rank of 4000, (2000 horse) and a grant-in-aid of 80 lakhs of *dam* (two lakhs of Rupees). A few days afterwards he made a number of requests. His assignment (*jagir*) in the Dakhin must be confirmed, the forts of Jodhpur and Mairtha and the *faujdari* of Rantambhor must be made over to him with the province of Ajmer, while for two years he must be exempt from repayment of the advances for expenses and from having the horses of his army branded. His personal followers must be admitted to *mansabs*. All these requests were granted and two of his relations were admitted to the service. There is no further mention of this appointment, and it was never taken up by Abdullah Khan, who, as we know, was shortly after this time sent to govern the province of Allahabad. The former subahdar of Agra was re-admitted to favour and continued in his office. [*Bahadur* 144, 147.]

SEC. 14.—BAHADUR SHAH'S SECOND VISIT TO RAJPUTANA.

After he had crossed the Narmada on the 25th December 1709, Bahadur Shah marched by way of Mandu and Nalcha. He was at Dipalpur on the 19th January and camped on the banks of the Kaliyadah on the 7th February 1710. His route was continued by the Mukand *Darrah* or defile, which he passed through on the 5th April 1710. He was on the banks of the Kali Sindh on the 7th, and went through the Lokori Pass on the 28th of that month. On the 15th May 1710, the army passed Tonk and camped at Dandwa Sarai on the banks of the Banas, 30 *kos* from Ajmer. [Kamwar.]

1710.) The death was reported to the Emperor on the 22nd Zul Qada (11 Jan. 1711.) [Kamwar, 84.]

Here Yar Muhammad *Qul* and Nahar Khan of Hansi, who had been sent to the rebel Rajahs, brought in their *pradhans* or chief men, Bhikhari Das and others. On the 22nd May 1710 the Rajahs' letters were presented through Prince Azim-ush-shan and on the Prince's prayer their offences were pardoned and *khelats* were conferred by the Prince on the *pradhans*. On the 26th May 1710, when the army reached Lodah,* eighteen *khelats* from the Emperor were given to the servants of Rana Amar Singh and Ajit Singh and Jai Singh, and also one to the bringer of a letter from Durgadas Rathor [Kamwar 67-68.]

While these negotiations were proceeding with the Rajputs, there came the unwelcome news of a rising of the Sikhs in the north of Sarhind, under one Fath Shah,† who had been joined by many scavengers, leather dressers and nomadic traders (*i.e.*, Banjaras). Wazir Khan, the *faujdar* of Sarhind, had been killed in a fight with these men on the 22nd May 1710. This news forced on a speedy solution of the difficulty with the Rajputs. It was seen that a popular rising, such as that of the Sikhs, in a portion of the Empire so near the capital, might have much more serious and far reaching consequences than the then pending quarrel with the Rajputs, who, even if left in quiet possession of their hereditary country, were not likely to be thereby encouraged to further aggressions. It was therefore determined to come to as speedy a settlement with them as possible.

At the request of Munim Khan, the Wazir, his eldest son, Mahabat Khan, was sent off to persuade the Rajahs that they had nothing to fear if they came in and presented themselves. After three days, when the Emperor was encamped at the village of Deorai, the minister informed His Majesty that his son Mahabat Khan writing from the village of Gangwana where he had met the Rajahs, reported that they had entered into an agreement to come in on the 20th June. Munim Khan was

* Seems to be *Toda*, 60 m. s. e. of Ajmer.

† Kamwar Kh. is the only writer who gives this name. Others call him 'the false Guru' or 'the second Govind.' The Sikhs call him *Banda* (slave).

ordered to proceed to the Rajahs and bring them in after repeating in person the assurance conveyed through his son.

On the 21st June 1710, as the Emperor was on the march, the two Rajahs were brought to him by Mahabat Khan. They made their obeisance and each gave an offering of 200 gold coins and 2000 Rupees. In return they were invested with dresses of honour, and received gifts of jewelled swords and daggers, valuable scarves, an elephant and Persian horses. The Emperor then granted them permission to return to their homes. The Rajahs then went together to Pushkar lake for the *Parb* bathing. There they separated, and Ajit Singh reached Jodhpur in July 1710. Bahadur Shah went on to Ajmer, which he reached on the 22nd June 1710. [Kamwar, Tod ii. 80].

To show how little the Rajputs trusted the solemn promises made to them that they would be treated well, I may quote the fact mentioned by Kamwar Khan, the historian, who was present in the retinue of Prince Rafi-ush-shan. Beyond the four Princes and the great nobles there was no one else with the Emperor at the time. Kamwar Khan, while the interview was proceeding, saw that all the hills and plains round them were full of Rajputs. There were several thousand men on camels hidden in the hollows of the hills. On each camel rode two or even three men, fully armed with matchlock or bow and arrows. Evidently they were prepared to sell their lives dearly in defence of their chieftains, if there was any attempt at treachery.

SEC. 15.—THE SIKHS, THEIR ORIGIN AND HISTORY.

Baba or Guru Nanak, sometimes called Nanak Shah,* was born in Baisakh 1526 (April-May 1469 A.D.) at Talwandi, now called Nanakana, a village situated on the river Ravi, 35 miles south-west of Lahor, in the Sarakpur sub-division of the Lahor district. His father's name was Kalu, a Khatri, of the Bedi sub-division, and by occupation the *patwari* or account-keeper of the village. Nanak was a boy of a contemplative nature

* *Baba*, 'grandfather', a name of respect given to *faqirs*.
Guru, 'spiritual guide or teacher'.
Shah, 'king', the appellation of Muhammadan *faqirs*.

but little fitted to cope with the ordinary duties of village life. He allowed his father's buffaloes to break into a field; he sowed his seed and left the crop to be destroyed by cattle; he was sent out to trade and spent the capital on *faqirs*. In short, no work could be got out of him. His parents came to the conclusion that he was deficient in sense. He was next tried as an assistant to his brother-in-law Jai Ram of Sultanpur,* a grain agent in the service of Nawab Daulat Khan Lodi. Here his accounts fell into disorder and he left the Nawab's service. This occurred at Sultanpur. From this time began his career as a religious teacher, his first saying to attract attention being "There is no Hindu and no Musalman". The rest of his life was passed in wandering about the country, but from this point facts are so mingled with fables that it is impossible to disentangle them. As Dr. Trumpp says, there is nothing in what is told about him that might not be applied to every Hindu religious mendicant. He seems to have consorted freely with Muhammadans, particularly with the successors of Shaikh Farid, known as *Ganj-i-shakkar*, whose tomb is at Pak Patan (or Ajodhan), south of Lahor. Some writers† have even gone to the length of classing him as a Muhammadan and not a Hindu innovator. Nanak died in 1538 at Kartarpur in the Jalandhar Duab, [on the Ravi, 5 miles from Kalanur.]

Nanak had been married to the daughter of another patwari, and had by her two sons. But he did not live long with her, and instead of nominating one of his sons he named as his successor his disciple Lahina, a Tihun Khatri, to whom he had given the name of Angad.‡ This Guru, a totally unlettered man, took up his residence at Khadur, on the banks of the Bias. There he died on the 6th March 1552, having named as his successor Amardas, a Bhalla Khatri, born in 1479§ at

* No doubt this is the Sultanpur in the Jalandhar Duab, the then residence of the *faujdar* of Baith Jalandhar. [Macauliffe, i. lxx.]

† F. Pincott in Hughes' *Dictionary of Islam*, 583—596.

‡ *Angad* literally means 'giving one's limbs or body,' or, (Mac. i. 185) 'produced from the body.' Kadur is about 40 miles east of Lahor; Angad was born at Harike [ii. 1.] [J. S.]

§ Irvine gives 1509 as the year of his birth. I have followed Macauliffe.

Vasarka in the district of Amritsar. When he became Guru he removed to Govindwal, where he made a great well, with eighty-four steps down to the water, round which every year a great *mela* or gathering is still held. He died on the 14th May 1574, leaving as his successor his son-in-law Ramdas, a Khatri of the Sodhi clan, born at the village of Guru Chak. Ramdas derived a large income from the voluntary offerings of his disciples, which he devoted to the restoration of an old tank that he called *Amritsar* (Nectar-tank), building in the middle of it a temple called *Har-mandar* (the temple of Hari). The town which sprang up round the tank was known at first as Ramdaspur, but gradually the name Amritsar superseded all others. This well-known city, the spiritual centre of the Sikh religion, lies 32 miles east of Lahor. Tradition asserts that the land was granted to the Guru by the Emperor Akbar, nor is this improbable. The word *chak* in the revenue language of Upper India means a slice or portion of the village area. A piece of land detached and given to a *faqir* would naturally be known as *Chak Guru* or Guru Chak. In Browne's map, prepared about 1787, it still bears that name, as well as the modern one of Amritsar. Ramdas died on the 3rd March 1581.

The next Guru was Arjun, the son of Ramdas. With him the hereditary succession began which continued to the end and added greatly to the wealth and influence of the later Gurus, whom the Sikhs grew gradually to look upon as their actual sovereigns. Another momentous change arose in Arjun's time; he was an active and enterprising man and the first Guru who meddled with politics. Moreover, his father Ramdas having provided in Amritsar a holy rallying place Arjun undertook to give them sacred scriptures. He busily collected the verses of his predecessors, added many of his own, and completed the work with extracts from the popular writings of previous saints, Kabir the weaver of Magahar in the Basti district, and others, calling the whole by the name of *Granth* or 'The Book.'* Being

---

ii. 30. Ramdas was born in the portion of the city of Lahor called Chuni Mandi. (*Ibid*, 87.) [J. S.]

* Arjun's *Granth* is usually called the first or *Adi Granth*, to distinguish it from Guru Govind's or the *Daswan Padshah di Granth*, (Book of the Tenth Sovereign).

composed in their mother tongue, it was intelligible to the vulgar, who knew nothing of the Sanskrit in which the Brahmans veiled their holy writings. The sixth, seventh and eighth Gurus added nothing to the Sikh scriptures.

Another of Arjun's acts was of very great importance to the body of which he was the head. His predecessors had no income beyond the fluctuating voluntary offerings of their disciples. Arjun substituted for these a sort of tithe or tax to be received by collectors deputed by him, who forwarded the money to him once a year. These men, whose oppressions figure largely in the later traditionary history, were known as *masand,* which Dr. Trumpp states to be a corruption of the Arabic word *masnad* in its meaning of a prop or support, and metaphorically, a deputy.* Guru Arjun laid aside the garb of a holy man and adopted the state of a grandee. He also traded on a great scale. Altogether, he is proved to have been a man of great originality as an organizer, and in his time the Sikh community increased quickly and spread far and wide over the Panjab. We have very vague unsatisfactory accounts of Guru Arjun's death, but we know that it took place at Lahor in 1606. Apparently he died from ill-treatment while a prisoner in the hands of the Emperor Jahangir, his offence being a participation in the rebellion of Prince Khusrau. [See Macauliffe, iii. 92-100.]

From this time the accounts we have become more and more conflicting and obscure.† On Arjun's death his brother Pirthi Mal disputed the succession with his son, the youthful Har Govind. The former was soon deserted and the latter recognized as the true successor. Har Govind was a man of warlike spirit and addicted to hunting, was surrounded by armed

* *Cf.* the title of *Masnad-i-ala* given to the highest ministers and nobles in the Pathan States of Northern India in the 16th century. [J. Sarkar.] Mac. ii. 271, citing the *Dabistan.*

† Dr. Trumpp says (lxxxiii, note 1) "The Sikh accounts are frequently contradictory and dictated by prejudice, or hatred against the Muhammadans. The part of their history requires as yet a careful critical sifting, as the Sikhs themselves have no idea of historical truth." [W. Irvine.] Macauliffe gives the Sikh accounts of the last four Gurus in his volumes iv and v. [J. S.]

followers, and kept eight hundred horses in his stable. He took service under the Emperor Jahangir, but appropriating the pay of his soldiers and refusing to liquidate the fine imposed on his father Arjun, he was made a prisoner and kept in the fortress of Gwaliyar for twelve years. After Jahangir's death, which happened in October 1627, he was employed by Shah Jahan, but soon resigned and raised a petty revolt.* The imperialists having taken Ramdas-pur, Har Govind fled to Kartarpur. Here he was attacked by Painda Khan Afghan, an imperial commander. The Guru gained the day and Painda Khan was slain. The Guru and his Sikhs then advanced to Bhagwara near Lahor, but meeting with resistance fled again to the hills. Finally Har Govind made his home at Kiratpur near Anandpur, a place on the upper Satlaj in the hill State of Kahlur, and there died on the 10th March 1645. This Guru, with no taste for meditation, was a man of war, his disciples (*Sikhs*) were now soldiers, the hope of booty attracting the sturdy Jat peasantry to his standards in ever-increasing numbers. Their expeditions were as yet on a limited scale and seem to have been treated by the short-sighted local governors with more or less of contempt.

Passing over his four surviving sons Har Govind transmitted his leadership to his grandson Har Rai, son of his eldest son Gurditta. The new Guru, a wise and sensible man, was of a more peaceable disposition than his grandfather. The only public act of importance recorded as done by him was his joining the standard of Dara Shukoh, son of Shah Jahan, when that Prince fled to Lahor in order to continue his contest for the throne with his younger brother, Aurangzeb Alamgir. As soon as the issue of the contest was clear, and Dara Shukoh had been overthrown, Har Rai prudently returned to his home at Kiratpur, sending his eldest son, Ram Rai, to make his excuses to the conqueror. Alamgir received Ram Rai in a kindly manner, but thought fit to retain him as a hostage. The Guru lived in peace at Kiratpur and died there in 1661.

* The details of these struggles, solely from the Sikh sources, are given in Mac. iv. 81—214.

Har Rai had two sons, Ram Rai and Har Kishan. In selecting his successor, he passed over the elder son and transmitted his office to Har Kishan. Ram Rai, then a hostage in the custody of the Emperor 'Alamgir, resented this exclusion from the headship of the sect. He referred the question to the Emperor's decision. Har Kishan was summoned to Court, and had not been long at Dihli when he died from an attack of small-pox. This was in the year 1664. When his followers called on him to name his successor, he placed five pice and a cocoanut on the ground (the usual tokens of installation) and uttered the enigmatical declaration "Go, your Guru is in the village of Bakala." This village is near Kiratpur. [Mac. iv. 329.]

A schism now arose. Ram Rai, the elder brother of Har Kishan, claimed the succession. Another party preferred Tegh Bahadur, second son of Har Govind the sixth Guru, then resident at Bakala village. In the end Ram Rai was disavowed, and abandoning the struggle he retired to the valley (*dun*) between the Sewaliks and the Himalaya mountains, bounded on the west by the Jamuna and the east by the Ganges. Here he founded a sect of his own, called after him the *Ram Raiyas*. The town which sprang up took its name of *Dehra* from the temple founded by him, and the whole valley became known as the *Dehra Dun*. There is still a Sikh community at Dehra.

On his appointment as Guru, Tegh Bahadur left his home at Bakala and made his abode six miles from Kiratpur on some ground bought from the Rajah of Kahlur, calling the place Anandpur, (1665). Tegh Bahadur, for some unexplained reason,* now left the Panjab and took refuge at Patna on the Ganges, in Bihar, where he is supposed to have lived for a few months and then accompanied Kumar Ram Singh Kachhwaha to Assam. At Patna, during his absence, his son Govind was born (1666).

Tegh Bahadur returned at length to Anandpur. Sikh tradition asserts that he lived the harmless life of a wandering devotee. Apparently he was seized at Agra and by Alamgir's

* The enmity of Dhir Mal and the Sodhis (acc. to Mac. iv. 338).

orders transferred to the capital. After many efforts to convert him to the Muhammadan faith, he was tortured and executed at Dihli in the year 1675 A.D.* One of this Guru's crimes, in the Emperor's eyes, may have been the style of address adopted by his disciples, who had begun to call their leader *Sacha Padshah* or the 'True King'. This title was readily capable of a twofold interpretation ; it might be applied as the occasion served in a spiritual or a literal sense. Its use was extremely likely to provoke the mistrust of a ruler even less suspicious by nature than Alamgir.

SEC. 16.—THE DOCTRINES OF SIKHISM AND THEIR EFFECT ON THE SECT.

Before we enter on the life of Tegh Bahadur's son Govind Singh, the tenth and last Guru, it will be well to state briefly the tenets of the sect both as originally established by Nanak the founder and as modified by his last successor in spiritual office. But in a work not dealing specially with moral or ethical questions, the chief point of interest is the outward manifestations of their religion and its effect upon them as members of society rather than as individuals. Looked at superficially, Nanak, by putting in the background the Hindu mythology and proclaiming the oneness of the Supreme Being, may be considered as having taken steps to a reconciliation between the Hindu and the Musalman faiths. On this ground some have even classed Nanak as the founder of a Muhammadan sect.

* For the Sikh account, see Mac. iv. 363—387. On the other hand Ijad (Fragment, *f.* 13*a*) says that Alamgir had issued the *farman* for Tegh Bahadur's arrest but the order was kept secret. He was made prisoner by Dilawar Khan *faujdar* of Sarhind when encamped near Rupar, intending to proceed to the Ganges to bathe. When brought to Court he refused to become a Muhammadan and was executed. I have not traced any good Muhammadan account of Tegh Bahadur's capture and execution. By that I mean an account of a contemporary or nearly contemporary writer. Trumpp relies on J. D. Cunningham's *History*, pp. 61, 62. He, I find, depends in turn on the *Siyar-ul-mutakherin* (Briggs 112), a far from contemporary work, for it was written in 1783 (Dowson and Elliot, viii. 196). I do not know the source of Ghulam Husain's information.

According to Dr. Trumpp, it is quite a mistake to think he tried to bring into accord the Hindu and the Muhammadan ideas about God. His communion with Muhammadans, so far as it went, was due rather to the presence within Islam of the Sufi heresy, a veiled Pantheism. In Dr. Trumpp's opinion Nanak's conception of the Supreme Being was entirely Pantheistic, akin with whom he identified the whole universe and all things therein. The chief practical result was that Nanak advocated tolerance for each other between Hindus and Muhammadans. [Trumpp, ci.]

Another leading doctrine was the necessity of absorption into the Absolute Substance.When the soul reaches this goal, it céases its individual existence. Austerities, renunciation of pleasure, bathing at holy places, almsgiving are meritorious and are efficacious in helping to this consummation. But the name of Hari is the only giver of final bliss. To repeat the name of Hari with effect, initiation from the Gurus is required. Unconditional submission to the Guru is essential, in mind and body. Whatever the Guru does is approved by Hari. Blind obedience to him is the first duty, the second is the service of the saints. Nanak himself enjoined abstinence from animal food, but except as regards cow-killing this has been silently dropped. The grand difference, however, between Nanak and other founders of sects, one which caused the most profound consequences on his sect's subsequent development, was that the state of a householder was held to be equally acceptable with that of a recluse ; secular business was no obstacle to final emancipation. The rogueries of mendicants and Brahmans were severely denounced. The caste system was not directly assailed and, though men of all castes were received as disciples, the Brahman family priest was tolerated and retained.

Govind Singh transformed the outward forms and ceremonies to a very great extent. But such philosophical basis as the religion had, remained in theory unchanged ; though, in practice, the common people soon reconstructed for themselves a personal god. Govind Singh's first innovation was to institute an inner order within the sect. These were called *Singhs* or lions, and this word, one usually applied to Rajputs only, was

added to the disciples' name. The rite of initiation to the order was called the *Pahul*. The essentials are that five Sikhs at least should be present. Sugar and water are then stirred in a bowl by a two-edged dagger ; the novice joins his hands and repeats the main articles of faith ; some of the water is sprinkled on him, he drinks the remainder, and exclaims 'Hail, Guru', (*Wah, Guru.*) The new Singh must allow all the hair on his body to grow, and must wear blue clothes (a custom now disregarded except by Akalis). He then binds himself to renounce intercourse with the descendants of Pirthi Mal, who tried to poison his brother Guru Arjun, the *masands* (or Sikh tithe-gatherers), the followers of Ram Rai, and the people who destroy their female children. Temples, shrines and burning-places must not be worshipped. Neither the Hindu nor the Muhammadan scriptures are to be reverenced ; neither pandit nor mulla to be obeyed. All Hindu and Muhammadan rites at birth, marriage, or death must be discontinued. The Sikh must wear trousers and not the Hindu loin-cloth (*dhoti*) ; and there must always be some steel about his person, and, if possible, a sword. Tobacco was entirely prohibited. A Sikh may only eat the meat of those animals of which the head has been cut off by one stroke of a sword. In many places Govind Singh denounces Muhammadans, hill rajahs, and Brahmans. There are many other trivial rules for the regulation of daily life.*

Sikhism, as thus modified by Govind Singh, lost all trace of an elevated ideal that Nanak may have imparted to it. The Jat race, the numerical majority in the Sikh community, has many virtues, and the Jat in his capacity of an agriculturist is perhaps unrivalled. But as a Panjabi proverb says "The Jat, like a wound, is better when bound". (Ibbetson, 221.) In fact, under the Sikh regime, when he came to the top as soldier and ruler, he took as vigorously to plunder as he did in quieter days to the plough. Although tobacco is prohibited the use of alcohol is not, and the Sikhs have always had the reputation

* Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs*, 359; Malcolm's *Sketch* 182, Trumpp's *Adi Granth*, cxvi.

of being very hard drinkers. They are also addicted to the intoxicating preparation of hemp called *bhang*. By the rules of the sect all members should eat together and intermarry whatever their original caste may have been. But Hindu prejudice still survives in practice so strongly, that Sikhs coming from the higher castes will not eat with others of inferior origin, and it is only on the rare occasion of a *sangat*, or religious gathering, at the holy place Amritsar, that the rule is observed in its integrity.

A few words may appropriately find a place here on the races or castes from which the Sikhs were principally recruited. We have seen that their religion was, as it is still, almost entirely localized in the Panjab, its home lying in the country north of Dihli between the Ravi on the west and the Jamuna on the east. The Sikhs are not a very numerous body, furnishing under 8 per cent. of the total population in the Panjab. All of the Gurus belonged to one or other sub-division of the Khatri tribe, now chiefly found in the Panjab. It was thus from its origin distinctly a non-Brahman religion ; Brahmans always stood aloof from it, and under Guru Govind's rules they were to be dealt with as enemies. Etymologically the name Khatri came, no doubt, from the second or warrior tribe of Manu's four divisions, the Kshatriya ; but for many generations the Khatri has been, not a soldier, but a banker, petty trader, or official scribe. The offices of the Mughal Empire were full of them. Numerically they are very few among the Sikhs of the present day, but their superior intelligence and education, in addition to their being of the founder's race, must have always given them a power out of proportion to their numbers.*

Most of the followers of the Guru belong now, as they have done ever since Govind's day, to the Jat peasantry. These Jats form the great agricultural population of North-western India. The region that they occupy would be enclosed by a line drawn eastwards from the river Indus so as to include part of Sind with all Marwar and Mewar in Rajputana, thence

* They are 22 per ten thousand of the population, *i.e.*, only ·22 per cent. (Ibbetson, 139.)

round by the Chambal and the Jamuna, taking in part of the Upper Duab of the Ganges and Jamuna as far as Muzaffarnagar, thence crossing to the Karnal border and following the Jamuna northwards so as to end at the foot of the Himalayas. Whether Sikhs or not, these Jats have a very distinct character of their own. Sturdy, industrious, quarrelsome, penurious, they form the backbone of the agricultural community throughout the above extensive region. They are marked off from the Rajput and the Brahman by their practice of widow-marriage. Nay, they are commonly accused of having practised polyandry up to quite recent times, and the number of grown-up and apparently bachelor brothers found in Jat families is certainly a curious fact. The widow of an elder brother passes almost as a matter of course into the possession of the brother next in age [as was the custom with the Vedic Aryans]. In the government of their villages they appear much more democratic than the Rajputs ; they have less reverence for hereditary right, and a preference for elected headmen, [herein also resembling the Vedic Aryans]. Nor are any Brahman villages found scattered about in Jat tracts as they are in those of the Rajputs. Judging from experience in the Upper Duab, the Jats, even when orthodox Hindus, seem to be less under Brahman influence than the Rajputs. In appearance they are not perhaps so high bred as the Rajput, nor have they the sharp clear-cut features of the Brahman, but they are, at any rate in the Upper Duab, a fair, well-grown race. Except in the case of very rich men, their women work openly in the fields, and the men have never had the Brahman and Rajput repugnance to the daily drudgery of agriculture. At the time of the census of 1881 they formed two-thirds of the whole Sikh community within the Panjab, and have from the first been the most prominent part of it.

After the Khatri and the Jat peasants, the most noticeable components of the Sikh body are the lower caste artisans and men of the outcaste or menial tribes. This fact attracted the notice of the Muhammadan writers, as we see in our account, taken from them, of the disturbances following on the death of Guru Govind. Recent enquiries bear this out. In the census

of 1881, nine out of every hundred Sikhs were of the outcaste scavenger and leather-dresser races, and the other thirteen were of the artisan class, one half of these being carpenters. On the other hand, there were only four Brahmans in every thousand. Roughly speaking the Sikhs are made up as to two-thirds of Jat agriculturists and as to one-third of the artisan and menial castes. They form about one-seventh of the total population in the principal seats of their religion and about one-thirteenth of the whole population of the Panjab. It will be seen that in numbers they are not in any preponderance, even in the part of the country which may be looked on as especially their home.

SEC. 17.—GURU GOVIND SINGH (1675-1708).

We come now to our more particular subject, the life and doings of Guru Govind, and the events which followed on his death. Govind, the son of the ninth Guru, Tegh Bahadur, was born at Patna in Bihar, during his father's temporary exile from the Panjab, and at his father's death was nine years of age.* [According to Macauliffe's Sikh authorities (vol. v), Govind was born on the 7th bright lunar day of Paush, Sambat 1723-January 1666 A.D.] We are told that he remained in obscurity for twenty years. About 1695, then, when he was some thirty years of age, he took the field against constituted authority.† His first campaign was made as the ally of one hill rajah, Bhim Chand, Rajah of Nadon, against another, the Rajah of Jammu, who had been incited

* J. D. Cunningham, 81, says he was born in Poh, 1718 S. (November 1661); Muin-ud-din, Buta Shah, on the authority of one Shankar Jyotishi, has Sunday, Magh 13th, 1718 S. (January or February 1662). Again, in the *Sakhi Book*, 37, it is given as a prophecy that Govind would die at the age of forty-three years. Assuming, as we may safely do, that such a prophecy was made after the event, a belief is raised that Govind may have been born in 1666 A.D., his death having taken place in 1708. This would in a great measure dispose of the discrepancy in Dr. Trumpp's chronology (*Adi Granth*, introduction, lxxxviii and lxxxix).

† Browne's dates (p. 4) are quite different. He makes Govind a posthumous child, and places his first outbreak in 1114 H. (1704), when he was twenty years of age. In that case, he must have been born in 1684.

by Miyan Khan Mughal, to make an attack on his neighbour.* Where the interval of twenty years, between 1675 and 1695, was passed, we cannot say with any certainty. In one place,† we hear of his leaving a village called Paotah, just before he fought the Muhammadans. This village, where there is now a Sikh temple, lies close to the west or right bank of the Jamuna, in the Kiyarda *dun*, or valley, which is now part of the hill State of Sirmur or Nahan.‡ From after events, such as the building of a Sikh fort on the outer hills in Nahan territory, and the vengeance taken by Bahadur Shah on the Nahan Rajah, we may infer some close connection between Govind and the ruler of that State. His period of obscurity, in which he is said to have occupied himself with hunting, shooting, and the chase, may have been spent in the Kiyarda *dun*, or the adjoining hills.§

An early adventure was his pursuit by the Muhammadans.¶ He fled to a jungle called Narayanpur, thence he took refuge in a grove at Mani Majra.** His next assailants were the hill rajahs, the original ground of quarrel being obscure.†† Probably its chief cause was the natural hostility of the Rajput ruler and his Brahman counsellor to the head of a heterodox sect. Govind's baggage appears to have been plundered.‡‡ In at least one battle Govind won the day and triumphed over the Hindur, Kahlur, and Nahan leaders.§§

* Malcolm, 58.

† *Sakhi Book*, 41.

‡ J. D. Cunningham, 74, and *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 48.

§ See also the quotation from the *Vichitra Natak*, in Malcolm, 55, where Govind says he went, on his father's death, to the Kalindi, or Jamuna river.

¶ *Sakhi Book*, 41.

** Perhaps the Narayangarh, about 18 m. n. e. of Ambala: Mani Majra is about 22 m. n. of the same place.

†† McGregor, i. 80, attributes it to an attempt by the Rajahs to appropriate some valuable presents—an elephant, a horse, a tent, a sword, and a hawk—that had been sent to Govind Singh.

‡‡ *Sakhi Book*, 46.

§§ Cunningham, 75, says his first contest was with Nahan, aided by the Rajah of Hindur. Govind was victorious, and he killed Hari Chand, of Nalagarh (capital of Hindur, see Thornton, 681) with his own hand.

We hear next* of an expedition against Govind, commanded by Saida Beg, but we cannot fix the year. The traditions state that the commander was won over to the Guru's side, while the next in command, Ramzan Beg, was killed. The Muhammadans, who had been encamped at Thanesar, then moved towards Sarhind. The next day their baggage was plundered by the Sikhs during the march to Shamsabad. The Muhammadans returned to Dihli.†

The hill rajahs were still hostile,‡ and Rajahs Bhim Chand, Madan Pal, Bir Singh and others combined with Dina Beg Mughal, to attack the Guru. In the ensuing battle the Sikhs were victorious, and they pursued the Muhammadans as far as the village Khidarabad, plundering them as they fled. On another occasion,§ however, they were less successful. The Guru was besieged in Anandpur$ by all the hill rajahs. The siege lasted for fifteen days, and the extremity was so great that Govind threw all his treasures into the Satlaj, and his followers began to die of starvation. Pamma, the minister of Rajah Bhim, was sent to negotiate, and as the Sikh story goes, lulled the Guru into fancied security by pretending to become a disciple. His real object was to gain time for the arrival of the Muhammadans, for whom he had sent.¶

Apparently there was now a combined attack by the hill rajahs and the Muhammadans commanded by a Khwaja.**

This is the same story as in Malcolm, 55, and note. Hindur and Kahlur are hill States, lying just north of Anandpur, the Sikh Guru settlement on the bend made by the Satlaj, just as it enters the plains.

* *Sakhi Book*, 59.

† Malcolm, 59, 60, names Dilawar Khan and Rustam Khan as commanders of expeditions sent against Govind Singh. Thanesar is 28 m. s. of Ambala, and Sarhind 28 m. n. w. of the same place.

‡ *Sakhi Book*, 71.

§ *Idem*, 73.

$ In the Kohlur State, in a bend of the Satlaj (Thornton, 34). The town was founded by Tegh Bahadur, Govind's father. Makhawal and Kiratpur, the homes of previous Gurus, are not far off.

¶ *Sakhi Book*, 77. Cunningham, 75, says "He (Govind) became the ally of Bhim Chand of Kahlur, then in rebellion against the imperial authorities at Kot Kangra," or perhaps this refers to an earlier event.

** *Sakhi Book*, 98. McGregor i. 85, says that Zabardast Khan, subahdar

Terms of some sort were made with the rajahs, after which the Guru, with two wives and forty followers, fled into the Malwa, or country south and east of the Satlaj.* The Muhammadans attacked him again near the village of Ghanaula, in the Ambala district. One follower, Ude Singh, who resembled the Guru in features, placed himself in the front of the fight and fought on till he was killed, allowing Govind Singh time to escape. After plundering the Sikh camp, which was near Rupar on the Satlaj, the Muhammadans made a diligent search for the Guru, of whose escape they now heard. Govind fled into the forest, and his wives received shelter in the house of a secret adherent. Next day the Guru reached Chamkaur, a place lower down the Satlaj than Rupar.* He was then alone. The pursuit continuing, he went on with two disciples, who now joined him, and they walked southwards for fifteen miles. He halted to rest at Machiwara, a town with a ferry over the Satlaj, twenty-two miles east of Ludhiana. Disguised as a Muhammadan, he gave himself out as a Haji, or pilgrim from the Arabian holy places, and in this character received assistance from some Pathans. His flight was then continued on a horse brought to him by a disciple, and he was lost sight of for three months.† At length a man of village Kangir, in the Firuzpur district, found him and took him to his house.‡ Govind lived there a

---

of Lahor, and Shams Khan, of Sarhind, were the Muhammadan commanders. The hill rajahs had asked Alamgir for aid. The siege of Makhawal (*i. e.*, Anandpur) lasted seven months. Malcolm, 66, gives the names of the leaders as Khwaja Muhammad and Nahar Khan.

* Seven miles s. w. of Rupar (Thornton, 215). Cunningham, 76, and Malcolm 65, say that there was a siege at Chamkaur, and that two sons, Ajit Singh and Jajarh Singh, were killed there.

† Cunningham, 77, gives Bahlolpur as one stage in the flight, and the final refuge was, he says, in the wastes of Bhatinda (about 60 m. s. e. of Firuzpur, and 120 m. s. w. of Rupar; it has now a railway station.) He adds that the Sikhs place these events in 1705-6. McGregor, i. 87, has 'Belalpore.' Thence Govind went to Machiwara (91), thence to Kanija, three miles from Ludhiana (92), then to Jalpura, ten miles from Ray Kot (92). His followers now assembled, and he went to Kot Kapura (92), then to Muktsar (93). The Muhammadans followed and Govind defeated them. Being unable to obtain water, they were forced to retreat.

‡ *Sakhi Book*, 103.

year, and afterwards passed nearly three years at Damdama, where he composed his *Granth*, known as "The Book of the Tenth King."*

At the time of Govind's investment in Makhawal-Anandpur, he sent away his mother, Gujari, and his two sons, Fath Singh and Zorawar Singh.† They took shelter in the town of Sarhind ; or as one account says,‡ they were captured by a force sent out by Wazir Khan, the *faujdar* of Sarhind, under the command of Khizr Khan, Malner, and his own Bakhshi or chief officer. At first, Wazir Khan is said to have treated the prisoners with kindness. But, at the suggestion of his chief subordinate, Saj Anand, Brahman, who frightened him by a picture of the Emperor's possible displeasure at his mildness, he resolved to put them to death. He asked Khizr Khan to do the deed, but he refused with scorn to undertake an executioner's work. One Karakchi Beg Mughal accepted the office, and although the children clung round their grandmother's neck, he tore them away and cut their throats in the poor woman's presence.§ Overcome with grief and horror, she fell down and expired on the spot.$

The Muhammadan authors assert** that Guru Govind now sent in petitions to Alamgir, offering to make his submission,

---

* E. Trumpp, xcii, Damdama, a residence built by the Guru in a village of the Malwa country. Cunningham, 77, says it is half-way between Hansi and Firuzpur. The *Firuzpur Gazetteer* (Lahor, 1883-4), p. 41, describes it as "the breathing place, at which Guru Govind halted in his flight from Bhatinda before the battle of Muktsar." A *mela* or fair is held there. Malcolm, 186, note, quoting a Sikh author, not named, states that the *Granth* above referred to was completed on the 8th Bhadwan 1753 S. (August 1696, A. D.)

† Browne, 6, 7 who says, that the boys were aged six and five years. Malcolm, 65; McGregor, i. 86; *Sakhi Book*, 102.

‡ Browne, 6.

§ Browne, 8, and *Sakhi Book*, 102.

$ One version is that they were built-up alive in a wall (McGregor, i. 86), Warid, *fol.* 29, says that the mother, wife, two sons, and one daughter of the Guru were captured. The two sons and the daughter were subjected to indignities, paraded in derision, and then executed. Age of boys 9 and 3 years, Ijad (136). He says Govind's mother poisoned herself.

** Warid, *fol.* 116 *b*.

coupled, with a promise to accept Islam. If this is true, no prospect could be more pleasing to such a bigot as that Emperor: and, as we are told, a confidential messenger, or mace-bearer, was sent to bring the suppliant to the Court. The messenger produced Govind Singh, in the first instance, before Munim Khan, then *nazim* or governor of Lahor, and *diwan*, or chief revenue officer, to Prince Muazzam (afterwards, as Emperor, known as Bahadur Shah). Govind Singh was forwarded by the governor to the Dakhin. On the way the party heard of Alamgir's death, which took place at Ahmadnagar, in the Dakhin, on the 28th Zul Qada, 1118 (2nd March 1707); and Govind, believing his star was again in the ascendant, turned his face and hastened back to Hindustan. The story, as it stands, with these details, is not quite credible. Was Govind Singh at all likely to surrender? If in the custody of a Muhammadan mace-bearer, would he be allowed to return home, at his own pleasure, because Alamgir was dead? All we can say is that there may be some foundation for the story.

Of the next part of Govind's life we know a little more, though not very much more, than of that which had gone before. Dr. Trumpp* seems to look on the evidence for the following facts as slightly doubtful; but I think there is partial confirmation of them from the official history of Bahadur Shah's reign, compiled at the time. It seems certain that Govind Singh joined Bahadur Shah at some point, when that Prince was on his march down country from Lahor to Agra, to contest the throne with his brother, Azam Shah. Govind Singh must have received some rank but what it was is not stated by the Muhammadans. A *mansab* of 5,000, as stated by the Sikhs, is preposterous, the greatest leaders, at the head of thousands of soldiers, having no higher rank, whereas Govind Singh is reported as having no more than two or three hundred men.† In the same way the Sikhs make the battle, fought at Jajau, between Agra and Dholpur, on the 18th Rabi I. 1119 (18th June, 1707), to be won solely by the marvellous feats of Govind Singh and his Sikhs. This is absurd, and may be summarily

* *Adi Granth*, xciii.

† Khafi Khan, ii. 652. Bhimsen (168*b*) mentions Guru Govind as joining

rejected. But there is, I think, evidence that Govind Singh was in the Emperor's army at Agra immediately after the battle. I think that he is to be identified in the entry of the *Bahadur-Shah-nama** of the 4th Jamadi I. 1119 (2nd August 1707), when "a jewelled scarf was presented to Govind Singh."

The same doubt surrounds the place and time of Govind Singh's death. The Sikhs assign it to Nader, on the Godavari, where they have a shrine called Achalnagar, or the Immovable City.† I think that this tradition must be accepted as historically correct, and the time of death must be taken as November 1708.‡ Bahadur Shah was then on his march from Burhanpur to Haidarabad, as already related, and the Guru was in his train. The tradition says that Govind Singh's death happened on the fifth day of some lunar month.§ Now, in the *Bahadur-Shah-nama*, on the 5th Ramzan, 1120 (17th November 1708) we find that a report was made to the Emperor "as to the disposal of the movable property left by Guru Govind Nanak.$ It was of considerable value, and according to rule ought to be confiscated. The Emperor, with the remark that he was not in want of the goods of a *darvesh*, ordered the whole to be relinquished to the heirs." The death might have just occurred; at any rate, it must have happened quite recently. Unfortunately, Danishmand Khan, in his contempt for all narrative, tells us nothing of the mode of death. One Ajit (or Ajib) Singh, who passed as the Guru's son, was brought to the Emperor, was invested with a robe of honour, and taken into the imperial service.**

Bahadur Shah, but gives no details except that "he does not follow the ways of a *faqir* and darvesh but lays claim to be a soldier."

* Danishmand Khan, *fol.* 18.

† E. Trumpp, *Adi Granth*, xcvi.

‡ McGregor, i. 100, says Sawan 1765 S., which would be July 1708. Cunningham, 81, note, has "towards the end of 1708," and Muin-ud-din fixes it on Katik, Sudi 5th, 1765 S. (November 1708).

§ *Sakhi Book*, 200.

$ As to the use of the name *Nanak* by each Guru, see Cunningham, 57.

** Mirza Mkd. This Ajit Singh was apparently an adopted son (Rai Chatarman's *Chahar Gulshan*, my copy, *fol.* 143.) He was executed at Dihli 18 January 1725, (*Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*), by order of Muhammad Shah, for the crime of rebellion.

There are several accounts of Guru Govind Singh's death, but the two more usually received agree in stating that it was a death by violence.* Of these stories, one is that an Afghan horse-dealer had sold some horses to the Guru. Payment was delayed. One day, the dealer clamoured for his money with angry gestures. Provoked by the man's words, Govind Singh cut him down. Some time afterwards the Afghan's sons found their opportunity and stabbed the Guru mortally, when asleep or unguarded. This story is also slightly varied. The Guru, in this version, is supposed to have repented of his violence and showed favour to the murdered man's son. One day, when they were alone together, the Guru taunted the youth for his cowardice in not revenging his father. The boy struck him with his dagger, inflicting a slight wound, through which the entrails protruded. The wound was sewn up and was healing, when Govind Singh, in attempting to string his bow, burst the stitches, the bowels again protruded, and he died almost immediately.

The tradition in the Sikh books† is somewhat different. The murderer is stated to be the son of Said Khan, and the grandson of Painda Khan. Possibly the latter was the opponent whom Guru Har Govind slew. In opposition to his own precept, which prohibited all friendship with Muhammadans, Govind Singh allowed this boy to come about him. One day, after they had played at *chaupar*, a sort of draughts, Guru Govind lay down to rest, two daggers recently given to him being by his side. The boy took up one of the daggers and inflicted three wounds. Govind Singh sprang up, crying out, "The Pathans have attacked me." One Lakha Singh ran in and cut off the boy's head. The wounds were sewn up, and for fifteen days all went well. Then, on the 2nd of some lunar month, two bows were brought to the Guru. In trying to bend them, the Guru's wounds opened, during the 3rd and 4th he was insensible, and on the 5th of that month he expired.‡

* McGregor, i. 99, Cunningham, 79. The *Siyar-ul-mutakherin* (Briggs, 114) says that Govind died of grief for his children.

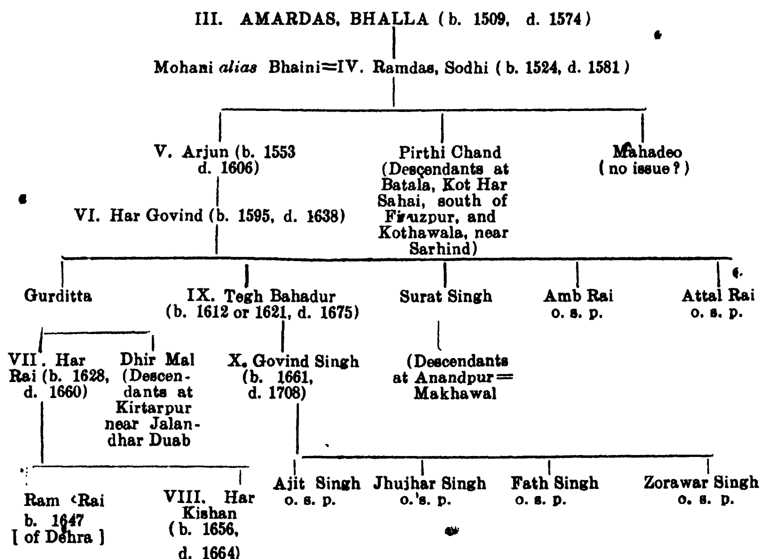
† *Sakhi Book*, 198.

‡ Katik, Sudi 5th, 1765 S., see *ante*, p. 90, note ‡

Govind Singh had three wives, Jitu, Sahib Kuar, and Sundari.* He had four sons; one, Jhujhar Singh, by Jitu; two, Zorawar Singh and Jit Singh, by Sahib Kuar; and one, Fath Singh, by Sundari. According to the Sikh writings, all his sons pre-deceased him, and according to them he left no male descendants. There was, however, the adopted son, Ajit Singh, of whom we learn from Muhammadan sources.†

NOTES

Genealogical Table of the Sikh Gurus. Succession in the same family began with the third Guru, Amardas. Roman numerals show the Gurus and their order of succession.



(Founded on Cunningham, *History*, App. xxii. Dr. Trumpp's Introductory Essay) and Malcolm, p. 36.

---

* *Sakhi Book*, 97.

† See *ante*, p. 90, *n* **

See B. M. *Addl.* 23609 (Rieu. 781) for a portrait labelled Guru Govind Singh. It shows a stout man, with black pointed beard, mounted on a black horse, facing to left, yellow figured coat and turban, striped trousers, a hawk on the right hand, no arms.

SEC. 18.—BANDA, THE FALSE GURU: HIS EARLY CAREER.

On the death of Govind, his family and followers brought forward a man, who exactly resembled the deceased.* It is not very clear who this man was; he is generally spoken of either as Banda (the slave), or as the False Guru. Two contemporaries† call him Fath Shah, and if this be correct, it points perhaps to his passing as Fath Singh, the son of Govind. Some say he was a Bairagi faqir, a native of a village, Pandor, in the Baith Jalandhar *Duaba,* who for many years had been the intimate friend of Guru Govind.‡ A more recent account calls him Madhu Das, *alias* Narayan Das, and tells us he was born on Katik, Sudi 13th, 1727 S. (October 1670) being the son of Ram Deo, Rajput, of Rajauri-garh in Punchh.§ The name given to him at birth was Lachmi Deo. He formed a friendship with Janki Parsad, Bairagi, with whom he went to the monastery (*math*) of Baba Ram Thamman. This *math* is in a place not far from Qasur, which is itself a little way south of Lahor. Authority was at that time exercised there by the Baba's grandson, of whom Lachmi Deo became a *chela,* or disciple, receiving the name of Lachman Bala, *alias* Narayan Das. In the end, he found his way as a pilgrim to the Dakhin, there met Govind Singh, and became his disciple.$

Whatever may be the truth as to his origin and antecedents, this man was now sent off secretly from the Dakhin to Hindustan. At the same time letters were written to the Panjab, informing the disciples that their Guru had been slain in the Emperor's camp by the dagger of an Afghan. But just before his death, their leader had announced that in a short time, through the power of transmigration, he would appear again clothed with sovereignty, and whenever he should raise the standard of independence, they would by joining him secure prosperity in this world and salvation in the next. Immediate

---

* Warid, *fol.* 117*a*.

† Kamwar Khan and Yahya Khan, *Tazkirat-ul-muluk* (1149 H.)

‡ Browne, 9.

§ Punchh, a district in the west of Kashmir (Thornton, 788). Rajauri lies between Naushahra and Punchh.

$ *Shamsher-i-khalsa,* 183.

collections of cash and goods must be made. Expectation was thus aroused, and the new manifestation awaited.

Suddenly there appeared in the town of Kharkhoda, thirty-five miles west of Dihli, a man who gave himself out to be Guru Govind Singh.* According to some accounts, he asserted that he had recovered from his wounds and returned to the Panjab; others believed that he had been restored to life by God's power.† Personating thus Govind Singh, the new leader became notorious under the deceased's title of the Guru, or Spiritual Director. The zamindars of the village where he appeared had become, several years before this time, followers of Guru Govind, and knew his appearance. As the pretender had copied Govind Singh's exterior, and resembled him in features, these zamindars believed in him, adopted his cause, and wrote in all directions to the Sikhs, telling them that their lost leader had returned to earth. In response to this call many armed men assembled, and as soon as there were five hundred of them, they marched for Sonpat, about twenty-five miles north of Dihli. The *faujdar* of Sonpat came out utterly unprepared, was routed, and fled to Dihli.

Elated by this victory, Banda made his way to the foot of the hills north-east of Sarhind, where Govind Singh early in life had taken shelter. Soon he had forty thousand armed men gathered round him, recruited chiefly from the lower caste Hindus.‡ His chief object was to attack Wazir Khan,§ the murderer of Govind's children and still *faujdar* of Sarhind, before he had time to make sufficient preparations. The Guru began operations by encamping near the town of Sadhaura,

---

* Warid, *fol.* 117 *a*, Qasim *fol.* 24.

† No astonishment need arise at the acceptance in those days of such inventions; for we have an almost exact parallel in the modern case of the Panjabi pretender to the Raj of Landhaura, in the Saharanpur district, who appeared at Rurki in 1874.

‡ Khafi Khan, ii. 562, says that at first there were 4,000 to 5,000 men on ponies and 7,000 to 8,000 infantry, increasing first to 19,000, and in the end to 40,000 well-armed men.

§ Muhammad Jan, entitled first Kar Talab Khan, then Wazir Khan, rank 3,000 (*Tarikh-i-Mhdi*, year 1122). The *Shamsher-i-khalsa*, 186, states that he was a native of Kunjpura, a town in the Karnal district.

about twenty-six miles east of Ambala, where there was a celebrated Muhammadan shrine, the tomb of Shah Qamis, Qadiri.* Neither officials nor townspeople interfered with him, and by friendly overtures he lulled their suspicions to sleep. Then he attacked the town, killed many of the inhabitants, and plundered their houses.†

Wazir Khan, as soon as he heard of the pretender's rising, hurried off from Sarhind with the three thousand to four thousand men then present.‡ The Sikhs were then on their way to attack him. Both forces met on a plain between Alwan Sarai and the town of Banur, some ten to twelve miles north-east of Sarhind.§ This was on the 24th Rabi I. 1122 (22nd May 1710). At the first shock the Sikhs, after a feeble resistance, turned and fled. Wazir Khan's force appeared to have already gained the day, when suddenly a crowd of men were led by the Guru to an attack on the Muhammadan rear. This bold movement put heart into the flying Sikhs and, with loud cries of "*Sacha Padshah*" and "*Fath daras*", they fell in a compact body on the Muhammadans, who for a time held their ground. The Sikh swordsmen attacked several elephants and wounded

---

* Thornton, 891, Lat. 30°23′, Long. 77°16′, a town near the foot of the Sub-Himalaya, close to the left bank of the Markanda torrent; it has a wall pierced for musketry, and tall towers. See also George Forster, *Journey*, i. 236, and the *Ain-i-Akbari* (translation) ii. 105, 296. The *Shamsher-i-khalsa*, 187, calls the Sadhaura saints Baha-ul-haq and Qutb-ud-din, Jaison. Shah Faiz is wrongly given in some books for Shah Qamis. (*Khazinat-ul-asfiya*, i. 135.)

† Mirza Muhammad, 215. The *Shamsher-i-khalsa*, 187, places the attack on Sadhaura in Magh 1764 S. (November-December 1707). The month may be right, but the year *must* be wrong.

‡ Mirza Muhammad, 215; Qasim, 84; Warid, 117*b*; Khafi Khan, ii. 653. The last gives the Muhammadan force as 5,000 to 6,000 horse, 7,000 to 8,000 foot, matchlockmen and bowmen, with cannon and elephants. Sarhind is a corruption of the original name, Sahrind.

§ Browne, 9, places the battle at Alwan Sarai, which is 12 m.s.e. of Sarhind. Warid, 117*b*, says "near Banur." The Anonymous Fragment of a *Farrukh-siyar-nama* (in my possession), *fol.* 15*a*, states that the fight was near Chapparchari. There are two villages of this name, C. Kalan and C. Khurd, on Sheet No. 48 of the *Indian Atlas*. They lie about 16 m. n. e. of Sarhind, on the Patiyali Rao, and are 10 m. n. by w. of Banur.

them. Sher Muhammad and Khwaja Ali of Kotilah Maler* were killed, and confusion arose in the Muhammadan ranks. Wazir Khan, then fully eighty years of age, made no attempt to escape, but tried to rally his men, and continued to shoot his arrows at the enemy. At length he, too, was killed by a musket shot.† The baggage was plundered, the elephants captured, and the body of Wazir Khan dishonoured and hung to a tree. Not a single Muhammadan escaped with anything but the clothes upon his back.

Alarm spread through the streets of Sarhind, an old and prosperous town, inhabited by wealthy bankers and traders and many well-born Muhammadans of the learned class.‡ Those who could do so fled, one of the first being Wazir Khan's eldest son, who, leaving all his father's hoards behind him, made off to Dihli with all his family. After a feeble defence of two days, the town was taken. Every one who, for want of carts or other conveyance, had been left behind, was made prisoner. Only those Muhammadans who disguised themselves and hid in the houses of the Hindus, escaped injury. The scavengers and leather-dressers and such like persons, who were very numerous among the Sikhs, committed excesses of every description. For the space of four days the town was given up to pillage, the mosques were defiled, the houses burnt, and the Muhammadans slaughtered ; even their women and children were not spared.§ Some say that unborn children were taken from the womb and killed before their dying mothers' eyes. Hindus even were not respected. One of the

---

* Maler is about 36 m. s. w. of Sarhind.

† B. M. *Or. 3610*, Fragments *5a*. Wazir Khan met Nar [? Baz] Singh and struck at him with a spear. The Sikh laid hold of it and, with it wounded the Khan's horse on the forehead. Wazir Khan then drew his bow and hit Nar Singh on the arm, and drawing his sword tried to make an end of him. Fath Singh who was waiting near by, gave Wazir Khan a cut on his sword belt that cleft him from the shoulder to the waist, and his head fell to the ground.

‡ Mirza Muhammad, 215, 217; Qasim, 24; Khafi Khan, ii. 654. Sarhind, now in the Patiala territory, is about 28 m.n.w., of Ambala.

§ The infants were tossed into the air and cut in two as they were falling to the ground. (B. M. *Or. 1870, Fatuhat-nama-i-Samadi, f. 12a.*)

principal objects of the Sikh vengeance was, of course, Saj Anand Brahman, Wazir Khan's chief revenue official and his adviser in taking the life of Govind's sons. Even Muhammadan writers have nothing to say in this man's favour ; he had been, no doubt, like most men in his position, exacting and haughty in his days of prosperity. All power was now usurped by the Sikhs, and one Bar Singh, a man of poor origin, belonging to pargana Haibatpur Patti in the Bari Duab, was appointed *subahdar*, or governor of Sarhind. It is said that two krors of Rupees (about two millions sterling) in money and goods belonging to Wazir Khan and several hundred thousand Rupees belonging to Saj Anand, and others, fell into the hands of Banda.*

The atrocities of which Banda and his agents were guilty aroused horror in the breasts of the Muhammadans. They forgot too readily, perhaps, that rulers of their own faith had formerly committed equal excesses. But, though the ways of the Muhammadan Government were never gentle in the suppression of rebellion, many generations must have passed since such wholesale and unjustifiable destruction of life and property had been done by them. Warid can only compare the doings of the Sikhs to the cruelties committed by Pharaoh upon the people of Israel, or to the massacres that followed the fall of Jerusalem. Even in those two instances, though the living were destroyed, the dead were spared. But "those infidels," the Sikhs, did not even spare the dead ! The descendants of Shah Qamis Qadiri of Sadhaura were summoned before the Guru and told that their only chance of life lay in destroying with their own hands their mosque and the tomb of their ancestor. The wretched men complied. Thereupon the Guru declared that to sweep from the face of the earth men who could destroy their own holy places would be a righteous act, bringing full reward in a future world. He then directed them to be tortured and executed. When the tomb of the saint was dug up, there was no trace of the body to be found beyond a handful

* Kamwar Khan, entry of 2nd Rabi II. 1122 H. Bar Singh also appears as Baz, Taj, and Baj Singh.

of dust. Instances of Muhammadans abandoning their faith were not unknown.* Dindar Khan, a man belonging to the neighbourhood of Sarhind, joined the false Guru and assumed the name of Dindar Singh ; while Mir Nasir-ud-din, the imperial news-writer of Sarhind, became known as Mir Nasir Singh, a curious and incongruous combination of titles.

From Sarhind as a centre, Banda sent out parties to occupy the country to the south, the east, and the west.† In the first two directions nearly the whole of sarkar Sarhind (of subah Dihli) was occupied. Every mosque was thrown down. Samana, Sunam, Mustafabad, Kaithal, Kuhram, Buriya, Sadhaura, Chath, Ambala, Shahabad, Thanesar, Pael, Supar, Phalvalpur, Machiwara, Ludhiana, all parganas in the north of the Sarhind *sarkar*, between the Satlaj (popularly called the river of Ludhiana) and the Jamuna, fell into the possession of the Sikhs. The Lakhi jungle,‡ was the only country not taken. Their further progress southwards from Thanesar was opposed by Sardar Khan, a Muhammadan Rajput zamindar. If it had not been for his exertions, there was nothing really to stop their advancing against Dihli. It is true that Asad Khan the *Wakil-i-mutlaq*, or Vice-gerent, was there, and as governor of the province in which Sarhind was included, it was his duty to have taken active measures to restore order. But he was very old and probably indifferent: in any case, he did nothing.

In all the parganas occupied by the Sikhs, the reversal of previous customs was striking and complete. A low scavenger or leather-dresser, the lowest of the low in Indian estimation, had only to leave home and join the Guru, when in a short space of time he would return to his birth-place as its ruler, with his order of appointment in his hand. As soon as he set foot within the boundaries, the well-born and wealthy went out to greet him and and escort him home. Arrived there,

* Yar Muhammad, *Dastur-ul-insha*, 8.

† Khafi Khan, ii. 662; Mirza Muhammad, 215; Warid, 118 *a*.

‡ On the map between pp. 64 and 65, in J. Rennell's *Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan* (London, 1793), this tract is shown as directly south of Firuzpur, between it and Bhatner. To the south of this, was the desert country of Bhatti.

they stood before him with joined palms, awaiting his orders. A scavenger, from the nature of his duties, is intimately acquainted with the condition of every household. Thus, the new ruler had no difficulty in exacting from every one their best and most valuable belongings, which were confiscated for the use of the Guru, or for his treasury. Not a soul dared to disobey an order, and men, who had often risked themselves in battle-fields, became so cowed that they were afraid even to remonstrate. Hindus who had not joined the sect were not exempt from these oppressions.

One party of Sikhs was sent across the Satlaj to take Sultanpur and other places, in the *Duaba* of Baith Jalandhar. They wrote in the form of a *parwana* (that is, as if he were their subordinate) to Shams Khan, the faujdar, calling on him to submit, to send such supplies as they needed, and to come out to escort them in, bringing with him such money as he might have in his treasury. Shams Khan, by the advice of the chief men of the town, gave the messengers the answer, that he could not send the powder and lead they asked for, as he required the necessary carriage for his friends and followers. The shops in the bazar were full of lead, and he had store-house upon store-house full of powder. If they furnished means of conveyance, a supply would be sent.

Shams Khan then took the field at the head of four thousand to five thousand horsemen, and thirty thousand matchlockmen and bowmen, partly old troops and partly newly-raised men sent in by the zamindars. The better classes of all kinds, also the poorer classes, and many artisans, chiefly weavers, joined his standard, resolved to defend their homes and sell their lives dearly. Contributions in money were also given. Altogether more than one hundred thousand men had collected, and a start was made from Sultanpur.* As soon as the Sikhs heard that Shams Khan was coming, they moved at the head of 70,000 horse and foot, with the cannon taken at Sarhind, much siege *materiel* in the shape of planks and sand-bags for preparing batteries, with cart-loads of powder and

* About 40 m. w. of Ludhiana and over 80 m. w. of Sarhind.

lead. Plundering as they moved, they drew near to the town of Rahun, about fifty miles east of Sultanpur, before which they encamped. They occupied the mounds formed by some brick-kilns, and with the bricks and *debris* built a sort of fort, placed entrenchments round their camp, and awaited an attack. They sent out foraging parties in all directions with menacing letters to the head revenue payers (*chaudhuris*), and revenue officers (*qanungos*) of the parganas, demanding their submission.

Shams Khan's supporters well knew that if he were defeated, their lives, families, and property would be sacrificed. Therefore they advanced boldly till they were about the distance of a musket-shot from the Sikh entrenchment. The cannonade began at three hours after sunrise. Thousands of balls and stones from slings fell like hail on the Muhammadans, but without causing much loss. Shams Khan had warned his troops against too hasty an advance and a useless expenditure of powder. They bore onward slowly and steadily. After two volleys from the Sikhs, the Muhammadans, reinforced by a number of their co-religionists from the country around, rushed on their foes with loud cries of *Allahu-Akbar* (God is Great). Many of the Sikhs were killed and wounded ; their efforts at resistance were fruitless, and in a panic, they took refuge within the fort near Rahun, which they had prepared before the battle. There they were invested and could only reply by musketry-fire and the firing of rockets. They had a supply of the munitions of war and of food, which they had brought together from the houses in Rahun, the inhabitants having fled for their lives, leaving everything behind. Thus they were able to hold the position for several days, and at night parties issued forth to harass the outlying posts of the Muhammadans, destroying many a horse and man. Both sides suffered, but especially the Sikhs. After a time they evacuated their entrenchments during the night, and Shams Khan pursued for some miles, capturing one gun and several loaded camels and oxen. He then returned in triumph to Sultanpur. The next day, however, about one thousand men came back, ejected Sham Khan's officer, and re-occupied Rahun ; but

beyond this no hold was then obtained by the Sikhs upon the Jalandhar Duab.*

Let us next trace the Sikh fortunes in another direction. As soon as the Sikh expedition eastwards had crossed the Jamuna, Ali Hamid Khan Qanauji, *faujdar* of that part of the country, took fright, and in spite of offers by the Afghan and other leading Muhammadans to repair the walls and stand on the defensive, that very night marched away from Saharanpur, and took the road to Dihli. The Sikhs, learning that the imperial officer had abandoned the town, made all haste to the spot, soon overcame the resistance of the inhabitants, and plundered it as they had done Sarhind. The whole country, far and near, was in a panic. Those people, who were rich enough or lucky enough to obtain means of conveyance, carried off their goods and families. The rest, taking their wives and children by the hand, fled on foot. Women who had rarely been outside the courtyard of their own house, and had never gone one step outside of it on foot, were forced to walk distances of thirty and forty miles. Many women threw themselves into wells to avoid outrage. In this way, half of the *sarkar* of Saharanpur fell into the hands of the Sikhs.†

Next, the Sikhs wrote to Jalal Khan,‡ former faujdar, calling upon him to submit. He lived at a town founded by him, and called Jalalabad ; it lies about thirty miles south of Saharanpur and about twenty miles west of Deoband. The town is surrounded by a wall, and many Afghan soldiers had their homes there. When the Sikh messengers came before

* The report of Shams Khan (entitled Shams-ud-din Khan) was received by the Emperor on the 18th Shaban, 1122 (11th Oct., 1710) (Kamwar Khan, entry of that date). He was a nephew of Husain Khan of Qasur (*Fatuhat-nama-i-Samadi, f.* 24 *a.*)

† Mirza Muhammad, and Khafi Khan, ii. 654. The latter calls the faujdar Ali *Muhammad* Khan.

‡ Jalal Khan, son of Hazar Mir, Warakzai Afghan, Miranzai *Khail*, died about the 22nd Muharram, 1130, Farrukh-siyar's sixth year (Kamwar Khan, entry of that date). He is there described as *thanadar* of Thana Bhim, the pargana capital, three miles south of Jalalabad. Dost Muhammad Khan, founder of the Bhopal State, in Central India, was of the same tribe. (Rustam Ali, *Tarikh-i-Hindi, fol.* 279 *a*).

Jalal Khan, he ordered them to be paraded derisively through the streets and ejected from the town. Immediate preparations were made for its defence. Soon word was brought that the Sikhs had surrounded two large villages, dependent on and situated four or five miles from Jalalabad. The chief sent out a strong force to relieve these villages, putting at its head Ghulam Muhammad Khan, his grandson, and Hizbar Khan, his cousin. Encouraged by the arrival of reinforcements, the villagers, four or five hundred men, armed with matchlocks or bows, and a number of their tenantry armed in various ways, many with only slings and stones, came out boldly to disperse the Sikhs. In the fight, Hizbar Khan and a number of both Muhammadans and villagers lost their lives. But, in the end, pressed by repeated onslaughts from the Afghans, the Sikhs gave way.*

Other contests followed between the Sikhs and Jálal Khan, and the former were repulsed two or three times. In spite of these reverses, they persisted in their attempts against the town. Seventy to eighty thousand men had collected from all parts. The assailants prepared two or three hundred movable batteries, formed of planks and mounted on cart-wheels. Jalalabad was closely invested. When these batteries were brought to the foot of the walls and close to the town gate, the Sikhs showered from them bullets and arrows and stones upon the Afghans, then with cries of *Fath daras* four or five hundred men, carrying mattocks and other tools, rushed forward, intending to dig through the earthen wall, to affix ladders, and to set fire to the gates. At such moments, the Afghans threw open the gates and, sword in hand, with their shields raised before their faces, made a rush upon the foe. At each sally they cut down two or three hundred of the Sikhs, at the same time losing many lives on their own side. At night-time other sallies were made, when the besiegers were caught unawares and put to the sword. For twenty days the besieged found no proper leisure to eat their food or to take rest. In the end, after losing some thousands of men, the Sikhs withdrew without having been able to take the town.†

---

* Khafi Khan, ii. 655.

† Khafi Khan, ii. 656. The Emperor received Jalal Khan's report of

When the outbreak in Sarhind and the defeat of Wazir Khan became known at Lahor, the Sikhs collected at their holy place, Amritsar, or the Nectar Lake, in the village of Chak Guru, about forty miles north of Lahor, already renowned for its gardens and lake, and for the great gathering, or *mela,* held there in Phalgun (February) of every year. In this conclave, the Sikhs resolved to make an attempt on Lahor, hoping to have the same success as at Sarhind. The imperial governor was then Sayyid Aslam Khan, a *maulavi* from Kabul. He was the deputy for Prince Muizz-ud-din, Jahandar Shah, the Emperor's eldest son. This man made no effort to repel an attack from outside, though in one way or another he prevented any outbreak within the city of Lahor itself. But parganas such as Batala and Kalanaur (where Akbar was crowned), both in sarkar Batala, were completely ravaged.* The Sikh depredations extended even to the suburbs and to the Shalimar garden, only three miles from the city. The Muhammadans of Lahor now took the matter into their own hands. Muhammad Taqi, a relation of the late Shah Sadullah (*i.e.*, Shah Jahan's greatest *Wazir,* Sadullah Khan Allami), and Musa Beg Luhani, son of Khuda Wirdi Beg, Aghar-Khani, specially exerted themselves to collect men and obtain supplies. Many traders made contributions in money. Others joined in person, such as the son of Sayyid Ismail, Haji Yar Beg, Sayyid Inayat, and Mulla Pir Muhammad, the preacher. The rallying point was the plain near the Idgah mosque.†

Hearing that among the populace he had earned the reputation of a coward, Sayyid Aslam Khan, the governor, sent out a force of five hundred horse and foot, commanded by Mir Ataullah, a man from down country, and Mahabat Khan Karal, zamindar of Faridabad. This expedition caused the Sikhs to retreat to pargana Tappa Bharli ;‡ where there was a small

these events on the 15th Jamadi I. 1122 (11th July, 1710),—Kamwar Khan (entry of that date).

* Batala, about 60 m. n. e., and Kalanaur, about 70 m. n. e., of Lahor. Details of the attack on Batala are given in McGregor, i. 108.

† Qasim, *fol.* 27.

‡ In sarkar Bari Duab, *Ain-i-Akbari,* ii. 110. For Karal, or Kharral, see Ibbetson, *Census,* 470, 471.

brick fort, built by Bhagwant Ray, the *qanungo* of the pargana. The fort was put in a state of defence and supplies to last a siege were collected. After some delay, the imperialists arrived and invested the place. The Sikhs were unable to come out into the open, but they made a good defence from the bastions and walls. After a time they lost heart and decamped under cover of night. The Muhammadans returned to Lahor, signalizing their return by insulting the Hindus of the city and threatening their own rulers.*

Once again, the Sikhs gathered at Kotila Begam, a place near the town of Jamarhi.† The Lahor Muhammadans a second time took the field. On the march, their undisciplined force plundered the villages near the road. When the Muhammadans reached the small fort, the Sikhs came out boldly and met them in the open. Treachery was at work among the Muhammadans. The Afghans of Sauri village, who were secretly disaffected owing to the governor's exactions, are said to have come to an understanding with the Sikh leaders, who were their neighbours. While the fortune of the day was doubtful, and the result still hung in the balance, these Afghans turned their bridle-reins and made for their homes. The remaining Muhammadans were unable to hold their own, and some of their leaders fell, among others Sayyid Inayat, of Bhatdyan village, the Muhammad Taqi already mentioned, and Muhammad Zaman, a Ranghar Rajput. By a great effort the Sikhs were driven back to the walls of the fort, and thus many Muhammadans were enabled to escape from the battle. High wind and heavy rain were obstacles in the way of both combatants, and night fell before a decisive victory had been gained by either side. As the daylight disappeared the fighting died down, and during the night the Muhammadan force melted away into nothing.‡

SEC. 19.—THE EMPEROR MARCHES AGAINST THE SIKHS.

The first news of the Sikh outbreak was brought to Bahadur Shah on the 2nd Rabi II. 1122 (30th May, 1710), when he was

* Qasim, *fol.* 95.
† In sarkar Batala, *Ain.* ii. 110, 318.
‡ Qasim, *f.* 97.

approaching Ajmer on his return march from the Dakhin. A peace was forthwith patched up with the Rajputs and attention was turned to the new trouble. Some difference of opinion seems to have arisen between Bahadur Shah and Munim Khan, his Wazir. The Emperor wished to make a rapid march with such troops as could keep up with him. Munim Khan, arguing that it would be derogatory to the Emperor's dignity thus to rush in haste to suppress an enemy that had never been heard of before, preferred a more deliberate advance. If it were thought that delay would enable the rebel Guru either to make his position impregnable or to escape, Munim Khan would bind himself by solemn oaths to be answerable for the capture of the rebel. Some state that Bahadur Shah's unwonted eagerness arose from the chance of conducting what he looked on as a *jihad,* or holy war against the infidel, such as had not been the good fortune for many years of any Emperor in Hindustan.*

The plundered inhabitants of Sarhind and Thanesar, with the Pirzadas of Sarhind and Sadhaura, arrived at the camp in a destitute condition, raising loud cries about the oppression that they had suffered, and making many grievous complaints. Ajmer was quitted on the 1st Jamadi I. 1122 (27th June, 1710), urgent orders being sent to Khan Dauran (afterwards Nizam-ul-mulk) the subahdar of Oudh ; Muhammad Amin Khan Chin, faujdar of Muradabad ; Khan Jahan, subahdar of Allahabad, and Sayyid Abdullah Khan Barha, calling on them to march without delay and join Asad Khan, subahdar of Dihli and *Wakil-i-mutlaq,* in his advance against the Sikhs. Meanwhile the Emperor's camp moved on, *via* Rupnagar, Sambhar, Rasulpur, Pragpura and Narnol ; the capital, Dihli, being passed on their right hand at a considerable distance.† In order to prevent desertions, proclamation was made on the 1st Rajab, 1122 (25th August, 1710), that no man should visit Dihli without

* Kamwar Khan, 68; Warid, 119 *a.*

† Rupnagar, about 28 m. n. of Ajmer, about 200 m. s. w. of Dihli; Sambhar, about 55 m. n. e. of Ajmer; Rasulpur, (not traced); Pragpura, 120 m. n. e. of Ajmer, about 100 m. s. w. of Dihli; Narnol, 150 m. n. e. of Ajmer, 80 m. s. w. of Dihli.

permission, nor should any man's family come out to camp to see him. Another precautionary measure was an order for all Hindus employed in the imperial offices to shave off their beards. As the Sikhs had many well-wishers among the Khatri clerks, these men were thus forced to choose between losing their appointments, or committing an act that excluded them from the Sikh sect. The order was carried out, it seems, in a very harsh manner. Petty officers perambulated the streets and bazars of the camp, followed by barbers bearing dirty water in a scavenger's vessel. Whenever a Hindu was met wearing a beard, he was seized and his beard shaved off. The clerks in the imperial offices hid in their quarters, and did not appear again in public, until they had been shaved.*

From Pragpura, on the 12th Jamadi II. 1122 (7th August, 1710), a force was sent on in advance, under the command of Firuz Khan Mewati, Sultan Quli Khan, a nephew of Rustam Dil Khan, Shakir Khan, and others ; an allowance of 50,000 Rupees being granted to Firuz Khan for the payment of levies. Muhammad Amin Khan and his son, Qamr-ud-din Khan, arrived about the same time from Muradabad (27th Jamadi II. 1122, 22nd August, 1710). A week or two after the first force had started, another was sent off under Sayyid Wajih-ud-din Khan Barha. On the 4th Rajab (28th August) Khan Dauran† reached the camp ; and when the Emperor was at the town of Patodhi,‡ (17th Rajab, 10th September), Saif-ud-din Ali Khan, Najm-ud-din Ali Khan, and Siraj-ud-din Ali Khan, younger brothers of Sayyid Abdullah Khan Barha, came in from their home across the Jamuna. Khan Jahan (Sipahdar Khan) did not arrive till the 4th Ramzan, 1122 (26th October, 1710). Churaman Jat joined when the camp was nearer Dihli.§

After a halt to celebrate the Emperor's birth-day, followed by several days' delay from heavy rain, and a hunting excursion of a few days in the preserves of Jyunti, the army at

* Qasim, 32; Kamwar Khan, 73; Khafi Khan, ii. 669, 674. *Dastur-ul-insha*, 13.

† Formerly Chin Qilich Khan, afterwards Nizam-ul-mulk.

‡ About 35 m. s. w. of Dihli.

§ Kamwar Khan, 72, 73, 75; Browne, 11; Khafi Khan, ii. 668.

length, on the 29th Shaban 1122 (22nd October, 1710), reached the town of Sonpat, some thirty miles beyond Dihli. Here, on the 4th Ramzan (26th October), a letter was received from Shams-ud-din Khan, faujdar of the Jalandhar Duab, reporting that he had, on the 19th Shaban, 1122 (12th October, 1710), gained a victory over the enemy. On the 8th Ramzan (30th October 1710), at the next stage, Sarai Kunwar, Rustam Dil Khan reported to His Majesty that four days before (26th October), Firuz Khan Mewâti had fought the enemy between Indri and Karnal, and he now sent in three hundred heads. Firuz Khan was rewarded with the appointment of faujdar of Sarhind, and six robes of honour were sent for him and his companions. The next marches were to Sarai Sambhalka, Panipat, Kharonda, then to near a brick bridge close to Karnal, next to Karnal itself, Azimabad-Talaori (*alias* Alamgirpur), and then Thanesar, which was reached on the 22nd Ramzan, 1122 (13th November, 1710). At Karnal a further fight was heard of ; it had taken place at Thanesar and the Sikhs had been again defeated. Firuz Khan, after clearing Thanesar, had gone on to Shahabad, ten miles further to the north. Such Sikhs as had been made prisoners were strung up to the road-side trees, their long hair being twisted to perform the office of a rope.*

Before these successes were obtained, the road from Dihli had been barred for many months. Bayazid Khan, an Afghan of Qasur near Lahor, and then faujdar of the Jammu hill country, was on his march up-country with a retinue of several thousand men. On reaching Panipat his further progress was stopped. But on the advance of Firuz Khan, he took the initiative and drove the Sikhs before him. He was also assisted by his nephew, Shams-ud-din Khan,† faujdar of the Jalandhar Duab, already spoken of, who came now from Bajwara, in that jurisdiction, as far as Sarhind. Bayazid Khan, Umar Khan, and Shams-ud-din Khan encountered the Sikhs at a grove

* Kamwar Khan, 75, 76; Qasim, 100; for Shams-ud-din Khan see the next note.

† Shamsher Khweshgi, was made Shams-ud-din Khan, and on joining the imperial service had been given the rank of 500,150 horse. (Danishmand Khan, entry of 24th Zul Hijja, 1119, 2nd year of Bahadur Shah).

known as Yaqut Khan's, and drove them in disorder towards Sarhind, where they took refuge in the fort, and were there invested. The first success of these leaders was gained on the 19th Shaban, 1122 (12th October, 1710);* and it was followed by a further victory, of which a report was received on the 6th Shawwal (27th November, 1710). Good service was also done within the Baith Jalandhar Duab, by Isa Khan Main. Muhammad Amin Khan, who had been appointed to command a detached force, was now directed to march with all speed and take measures for the reduction and occupation of Sarhind.

Leaving Thanesar on the 4th Shawwal, 1122 (25th November, 1710), Bahadur Shah, in five marches by way of Shahabad and Aukala, reached Sadhaura on the 13th of the same month. Sadhaura is about thirty-six miles north-east of Thanesar. A few days before this date, it had been reported that the Sikhs had moved southwards from Sadhaura, with 3,000 horsemen and 10,000 infantry,† and had entrenched themselves on the road. Subsequently, they must have thought it wiser not to risk an encounter, for the imperial march was not molested. The Sikhs fled even from Sadhaura, and took refuge in the hills to the north-east of that place. Sadhaura itself is a town on a high hill of steep ascent, standing on the edge of the Markhanda torrent, in a hilly and, in those days, well-wooded country.‡

The Guru's head-quarters were not at Sadhaura, but farther on, within the first hills, in a region called by the native writers both Mukhlispur and the Dabar. Their use of the first name raises some difficulties of identification. They confound the site of the Guru's fort with Mukhlispur, the name for the hunting lodge, now called Badshahi Mahal, built by Shah Jahan close to the left bank of the Jamuna, and a few miles below the heads of what are now called the Eastern and Western Jamuna Canals. Some lands, which had been detached from pargana Muzaffarbad, of sarkar Saharanpur, were assigned to

* Report received on the 4th Ramzan.

† Khafi Khan, ii. 669, says 30,000 to 40,000 men.

‡ Kamwar Khan, 77.

it and called Faizabad.* This is, at the very least, twelve miles too far to the east for the Mukhlispur that we want, for which we must make search somewhere between Sadhaura on the west, Nahan on the north, and the Jamuna river on the east. That there was such a place, is shown by our finding Moklespore (Mukhlispur) on J. Rennell's map† of 1792, exactly where we want it, namely, half-way between Nahan and Sadhaura. Dabar (with the Hindi, or cerebral *d*) must have been the name of the region round Mukhlispur. It is described as "a place seven or eight *kos* from Sadhaura, near the northern hills, and on the edge of it is a small hill, difficult of access, on which Islam Khan, son of Sher Khan Sur, in his day of brief authority, began to build a strong fortress, under the name of Pawagarh. It was left unfinished at his death, and fell into ruins, parts of which still remain. Banda restored and extended these ruins."‡

Here the Sikhs had built a strong fort as a place of refuge, apparently the first to resort to this quarter having been Guru Govind Singh, in the period of seclusion succeeding his father, Tegh Bahadur's, death. The name given to the stronghold was Lohgarh, or Iron Fort, either in allusion to the prominence of iron in the Guru's new ritual, or with reference to the fort's supposed impregnability. Its exact situation cannot be determined, but it was about half-way between the towns of Nahan (in Sirmur) and Sadhaura (sarkar Sarhind); probably it stood on some spur of the hills overlooking one of the dry, stony, torrent beds, or *raos*, which form such a peculiar feature of the hill country and its border-land, both there and in the north of the Saharanpur district. The fort may have been on the Som *rao*, or more probably, on the *rao* still bearing the

* *Masir-ul-umara*, printed text, ii. 867; iii. 157. Alamgir visited this place in 1073 H. (*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 42).

† Rennell, *Memoir*, 3rd edn., *Map of Countries between Dehli and Candahar*.

‡ "Anonymous Fragment," *f*. 14*b*. This work is tract No. 4, in a miscellaneous volume, formerly in the library of Dr. Lee, now owned by me. Salim Shah (Islam Khan) reigned 1545-1553.

name of Lohgarh.* Roughly speaking, it lay some twelve miles to the north-east of Sadhaura. Here the Guru stood at bay, having the walls of the fort mounted with small cannon and pierced for musketry.†

At Lohgarh, Banda tried to assume something of regal state. He was the *Sacha Padshah*, or Veritable Sovereign, his disciples all *Singhs*, or lions. A new form of greeting, *Fath daras* (May you behold victory!), was invented and Muhammadans were slightingly called *Maslah*. Coin was struck in the new sovereign's name. One side bore the lines:

Sikkah zad bar har do alam tegh-i-Nanak wahib ast,
Fath Govind Shah-i-shahan fazl-i-Sacha Sahib ast.

If we are to judge by this halting, obscure verse, Banda was a better warrior than he was poet. The lines, an obvious imitation of the inscriptions on the Mughal coins, seem to mean "Fath Govind, king of kings, struck coin in the two worlds, the sword of Nanak is the granter of desires, by grace he is the veritable Lord." On the reverse were these words *Zarb ba Aman-ud-dahr, Maswarat-shahr, Zinat-ut-takht-i-mubarak-bakht.* "Coined at Refuge of the World, the Walled City, Ornament of the Fortunate Throne." These were the titles and epithets assigned by him to Lohgarh, just as each imperial city had its appropriate honorific name. On his letters he impressed a seal, bearing the following rhyming inscription:

Teg, deg, o fath, nusrat-i-be-dirang,
Yaft az Nanak, Guru Govind Singh.

"Guru Govind Singh found in Nanak, sword, pot, and conquest, help without hindrance or delay."‡ Not content with supre-

* *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 48.

† Kamwar Khan, 79.

‡ These words were used by the Sikhs on the coins they made at Lahor in 1765. See C. J. Rodgers, *Journal, Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, lvii, Part I, 30. For the seal, bearing the same inscription, still used by the Sikhs at Achalnagar (Nader) and elsewhere, see Sayyid Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, 270. *Deg*, literally "pot," means, I believe, the contributions levied from the faithful. Cunningham, 103, note, and App. ix, thinks it a metaphor for abundance or prosperity.

macy in the State, he also claimed, as other sovereigns have done, to be above grammar. By his order all nouns in Hindi and Persian having feminine terminations were changed into the masculine form. For instance, *sawari* (a retinue) and *kachari* (a Court-house or office) were pronounced by him and his Sikhs, *sawara* and *kachara* !*

The campaign which the Emperor had undertaken was rendered more arduous by the nature of the country and the season of the year. It happened that much rain fell that year in December and January, and the imperialist army, largely composed of men who had served in the Dakhin only, and were accustomed to a much milder climate, suffered severely from the almost incessant rain and the bitterly cold wind, which blew with great force every night. Supplies were also deficient, and the muddy state of the country was an additional obstacle. The losses among the horses and cattle were very heavy. Added to these material difficulties were others of a more imaginary but hardly less potent nature. According to the popular voice the Guru was a most powerful magician, greater even than he who made a calf to talk ; he could turn a bullet from its course and could work such spells that spear and sword had little or no effect upon his followers. Owing to these idle rumours the Emperor and the nobles and the soldiers were much disturbed in mind and disheartened. The Sikhs, on the other hand, were encouraged by the belief instilled into them by Banda that all who lost their lives in this war would be re-created at once in a higher rank of life.†

SEC. 20.—SIKH ENTRENCHMENTS STORMED : ESCAPE OF BANDA.

On the 13th Shawwal, 1122 (4th December, 1710), Rustam Dil Khan, in his capacity of *Mir Tuzak*, or quarter-master-general, was directed to go forward with the advance-tents and select an appropriate site for the next encampment, taking care to protect the tents from any attack by the other side. Munim Khan, the Wazir, and his son, Mahabat Khan, escorted

* Anonymous Fragment of *Farrukh-siyar-nama*, *fol.* 16 *a.*

† Kamwar Khan, 78; *Dastur-ul-insha*, 11; and Khafi Khan, ii. 671.

the tents with their own troops, reinforced by those of the third Prince, Rafi-ush-shan, which were commanded by his Bakhshi, or general, Afzal Khan. Next day it was ascertained that when Rustam Dil Khan had gone about two *kos* from camp, the enemy began to show in the jungle, commencing the attack with a shower of arrows, rockets, and musket balls. Without pausing, Rustam Dil Khan rushed upon them. The Sikhs stood their ground bravely and on their coming to close quarters, many on both sides were killed. Soon the rest of the imperial troops arrived.* About fifteen hundred Sikhs were slain, including two of their leaders, and of the imperialists, a nephew of Firuz Khan Mewati was killed, and his son wounded. Just before night-fall the Sikhs lost heart and made off into the ravines between the hills.†

The imperialists beat their drums in honour of the victory, and, advancing another one-and-a-half *kos*, they set up the imperial tents. Munim Khan and his son remained to protect them, while Rustam Dil Khan, Afzal Khan and other employes proceeded half a *kos* farther and took up a position on the bank of the Som, in which stream there was a small quantity of running water. On the other side of the stream stretched a wilderness full of trees. All night long there was a dreadful noise, and the whole time was passed in watching and on the alert. The Emperor gave Rustam Dil Khan the credit for this first success. This was no more than his due, for when most of his followers had retreated, he stood firm with only forty or fifty horsemen, who were his own relations, and continued the fight till the rest of the division came up to reinforce him and dispersed the enemy. He received the title of Ghazi Khan, Rustam Jang, and his rank was raised to 4,000 *zat*, 3,000 horse. Valuable gifts were sent off to him by the hand of Haiyat Khan, and trays of food from the imperial kitchen were forwarded to the Wazir and his son.‡

---

* Kamwar Khan himself was present with Rafi-ush-shan's troops.
† Kamwar Khan, 78.
‡ *Ibid*, 79.

On the 18th Shawwal 1122 (9th December, 1710), Bahadur Shah reached his camp on the banks of the Som, where Munim Khan and his son Mahabat Khan were received in audience. The Emperor expressed his intention of inspecting the next day the entrenchments prepared by the Sikhs at the foot of the hills, and Prince Rafi-ush-shan received orders to provide for His Majesty's protection during the reconnaisance.*

Next morning, the 19th Shawwal 1122 (10th December, 1710), Prince Rafi-ush-shan led out the imperial troops towards the foot of the Dabar hills. A quarter of a *kos* in advance came the Prince, leading the imperial vanguard. Rajah Udait Singh Bundela (of Orchha), was at the head of Zulfiqar Khan's contingent; while Munim Khan, the minister, accompanied by his two sons, Mahabat Khan and Khan Zaman, bore away to the right by a route pointed out to him by men with knowledge of the locality. The most forward part of Munim Khan's force was led by Rajah Chattarsal Bundela and Islam Khan, general of artillery. Munim Khan was also supported by the troops of Hamid-ud-din Khan and the contingents of the Princes Azim-ush-shan and Jahan Shah.†

Before a fourth of the day had passed, Munim Khan and his force came upon the Sikh entrenchments, strongly constructed on the tops of the hills. A heavy artillery and musketry fire was commenced, and in time the enemy were dislodged from the top of a small hill. The contending parties then came to closer quarters and many Sikhs lost their lives. About midday Munim Khan's troops made good their approach to the Lohgarh fort, the Guru's home and head-quarters. A severe struggle ensued. By this time the imperial troops (under Rafi-ush-shan) had quitted the open plain and were distant about a quarter of a *kos* from the walls of Lohgarh. From time to time shots from the walls fell in the Prince's ranks, but luckily none of them did any harm. Zulfiqar Khan halted

* Kamwar Khan, 79.

† Kamwar Khan, 79, 80. He here notes that he now quits the reports of others and records what he saw with his own eyes. Mirza Muhammad and his brother were also with Rafi-ush-shan's division. (I.O.L. No. 50, *f*. 98*a*).

and at intervals sent messages to the Prince that a slow advance was advisable. Although this advice was in appearance full of prudence, the clearer-sighted were aware that this desire to delay was wholly due to old quarrels and differences of opinion with Munim Khan. The Prince, to please Zulfiqar Khan, gave orders to halt, and alighting, he entered a light field-tent to eat some breakfast.*

A little after midday, at the time of the *Zuhr* prayer, a great smoke and much noise arose within the Sikh enclosure. Kamwar Khan with one or two companions, then left the Prince's division and went towards the position of the Sikhs. When they arrived within an arrow's flight of the earthen fortification, they drew rein, and at that moment a cannon ball from the top of the hill struck a tamarind tree, then glancing off grazed slightly the neck of the horse ridden by one of the party, and passed on without doing further damage, beyond having thrown the group into some disorder. Shortly after this happened, some plunderers who had made their way into the fort, passed carrying on their backs an Afghan, who had been hurt by a gunpowder explosion. From these men Kamwar Khan learnt that the imperialists had reached the hill-top and had begun to slay and plunder, but the enemy still continued to defend several other of the small hills, and some of them had taken refuge in a fort that they had named Sataragarh, or the Star fort.†

Kamwar Khan went on to the entrenched post of the Sikhs and found it in the hands of the plunderers, Rohela Afghans, Biloch, and others, who had taken crowds of women and children prisoners. The heavy goods and baggage they had set fire to, taking only cash and articles of value. Through the carelessness of these men several magazines of powder took fire, by which many of them were blown up. One heart-rending spectacle was the dead body of Saj Anand's son, and those of many Muhammadan men and women, slain by the

* Kamwar Khan, 80.
† *Ibid*, 81.

Sikhs before they had taken to flight. The bodies lay half-hidden by a few stones hastily thrown over them.*

One Mirza Rukn now arrived from the front, and informed them that the struggle still continued in the passes of the hills. Rustam Dil Khan, he said, had gained the foot of a small hill, on which stood a white building. It was believed that the Guru, in person, was in that house. The Mirza added that, so far as he had ascertained, the Sikh leader was seated under a particular awning on a particular hill, looking on at the action, and that all way of escape from that hill was cut off. This conversation had hardly ended, when Rajah Udait Singh, stung by the taunts of his fellow countryman, Chattarsal Bundela, rode off towards that hill, and his matchlockmen, quickly occupying an eminence which commanded it, poured their fire upon it. It seems that the Guru, who with several of his chief men was in that tent, was disconcerted by this firing, and moving down to the other side of the hill made good his escape. His departure caused the evacuation of several of the other hill-tops. The Rajah and other commanders of Munim Khan's force cleared the other eminences of their defenders, and by the time of evening-prayer none of their Sikh opponents were left, except those in the white building. Many women and children, horses and camels, were captured. Munim Khan was now recalled and he returned to the imperial camp, leaving Rustam Dil Khan and his troops round the hill on which the building stood. Munim Khan reported to His Majesty the course of events, and in the confusion of the fight the escape of the Guru having remained unnoticed, he added that the leader was surrounded and would shortly be brought in a prisoner. One story is that Zulfiqar Khan, long at enmity with Munim Khan, purposely spread the false report through his spies that the Guru was a prisoner. Munim Khan's own spies believed the story and brought in the news as true, whereupon Munim Khan intimated the fact to the Emperor.†

---

* Kamwar Khan, 80.

† Kamwar Khan, 82, *Masir-ul-umara*, iii. 673-4.

Prince Rafi-ush-shan and Zulfiqar Khan camped for the night at the place where they had halted in the morning. Up till midnight the sounds of fighting were brought on the wind to the imperial camp, which was at a very little distance. Between midnight and daybreak there was a loud report, which made the ground under the tents tremble ; and scouts brought word that it was caused by the explosion of a cannon made out of the trunk of a tamarind tree, which the Sikhs had filled with powder and blown to pieces just as they were about to retreat.*

In the morning (20th Shawwal, 1122=11th December, 1710) Rustam Dil Khan appeared with the prisoners and spoil, the latter including five elephants, three cannon, seventeen light pieces (*rahkla*) and some other things. He was rewarded with a gift of two of the elephants. The prisoners, ten or twelve in number, were made over to the police officer, Sarbarah Khan, for execution. The chief man among them was one Gulabu Khatri, a tobacco seller, who had passed himself off as the Guru, in order to facilitate the real man's escape. As the proverb says "The hawk had flown and the owl was netted."† Khafi Khan, with reference to this event, comments‡ on the zeal and self-sacrificing spirit shown by the Guru's followers. They were all equally devoted to his cause. What a contrast to the imperial armies, where, out of two or three thousand men, it was wonderful if one or two hundred were really prepared to fight to the death!

Bahadur Shah's displeasure at the escape of the Guru could not be concealed, and his calm temper was disturbed in a very unusual degree. There was a stormy scene between him and the chief minister. Bahadur Shah reproached him with being the cause of delay of every kind. At length, when the quarry had been driven into the net, it had, by his want of care and precaution, sprung away again, leaving no trace behind it but a little dust. It mattered not where the "dog"

* Kamwar Khan, 82.

† *Baz parida o bum ba dam uftada ast. Masir-ul-umara*, iii. 673.

‡ ii. 672, 673.

had fled to, whether he were drowned in the river or hiding in a cave in the hills ; in any case, the Wazir had bound himself to produce the rebel, and produce him he must. He (Bahadur Shah) claimed the man from him. Overwhelmed with these fierce reproaches, Munim Khan left the council-chamber with hanging head and dejected mien. His death, which followed soon after, is partly attributed to the untoward result of the campaign against the Guru.*

On the 22nd Shawwal, 1122 (13th December, 1710) orders were sent to the Rajahs of Srinagar (*i.e.*, Garhwal) and Nahan† to seize the Guru wherever they found him. The escape had been made into, or through, Nahan territory. That Rajah's crime was therefore the more patent, and unfortunately for him his chief town was only a few miles away, and to it Hamid Khan was sent to seize him. A few days afterwards (2nd Zul Qada, 1122=22nd December, 1710), that noble returned bringing Bhup Parkash, the son of Hari Parkash, the ruler of Nahan. He was kept in confinement, and thirty or more men who had been sent by his mother to plead for his release, were executed (4th Safar, 1123=23rd March, 1711). Finally, he was put into the iron cage constructed for the reception of the false Guru, and forwarded to Dihli, where he was kept a prisoner in Salimgarh until, during the confusion in Jahandar's time, he was set at liberty. Fath Singh, of Srinagar, was not so easily accessible. He was prudent enough to make his peace by sending presents (20th Muharram, 1123=8th March, 1711), but he could not be seized. Although the principal object of the campaign, the capture of the Guru, was not attained, it was not altogether fruitless, for treasure amounting to about twenty lakhs in Rupees and *ashrafis* (gold coins) was recovered, by

* Warid, 119*b*, 120*a*.

† These are generally styled by the Muhammadan writers *Barfi Rajah*, or Snowy kings. For instance, in Khafi Khan, ii. 671, and *Masir-ul-umara*, iii. 673. Khush-hal Chand, *Nadir-uz-zamani* (B. Museum, *Addl. No.* 24,027, *fol.* 214*b*) tells us that the name was given because the Nahan Rajah used to send boatloads of ice (colloquially *barf*) as presents to the Emperors and nobles of Dihli.

digging up the whole surface of the ground in Lohgarh, the Guru's fort (25th Shawwal, 1122=16th December, 1710).*

SEC. 21.—DESULTORY FIGHTING WITH THE SIKHS.

It will conduce to clearness if, discarding a strict chronological order, we here carry the story of the Sikh revolt up to Bahadur Shah's death and the reign of Jahandar Shah, leaving the final overthrow and capture of the Guru in Farrukh-siyar's reign, to be related hereafter. To resume, then :—On the 22nd Zul Qada, 1122 (11th January, 1711) Muhammad Amin Khan returned to head-quarters and reported the re-occupation of Sarhind. He was received with honour, and escorted into camp by Khan Zaman Bahadur, the Wazir's second son. Shortly after this date, Saf Shikan Khan Bahadur, with his sister's son, Himmat Daler Khan, was despatched against the Sikhs in the direction of Lahor. He was followed on the 18th Muharram, 1123 (7th March 1711), by Hamid Khan Bahadur, at the head of 5,000 horsemen. Three months had hardly passed from the taking of Lohgarh, when, in the early part of 1123 H., the Guru issued from the hills and appeared further to the west, in the parganas of Raipur and Bahrampur,† thus raising a fresh disturbance in the Bari Duab. On the 7th and 14th Rabi II. 1123 (24th and 31st May, 1711), Rustam Dil Khan and Muhammad Amin Khan were sent to restore order, and were directed to construct a bridge of boats across the Bias river. Meanwhile, by a report which arrived on the 18th Rabi II. 1123 (4th June, 1711) the Emperor learnt the death of Shams Khan Khweshgi.‡

Shams Khan Khweshgi, who had shortly before this time lost his appointment as *faujdar* of Baith Jalandhar, was on his way to his home at Qasur, south of Lahor, accompanied by one hundred horsemen. The party was attacked by the Sikhs, who had gathered together to the number of some 20,000 men, horse and foot. In spite of the disparity of numbers, the Muham-

* Kamwar Khan, 83, 87; Warid, 120*b*.

† Raipur (not traced). Bahrampur, n. of Gurdaspur.

‡ Kamwar Khan, 84, 85, 87, 91, 92; Mirza Muhammad, 215, 217.

madans, disdaining to flee, offered a stout resistance. Many of the Sikhs were killed, but at the same time, Shams Khan himself was among the slain. As the Guru did not know of this leader's death, he and his men left the field. By the time he heard the news and returned, the Afghans had removed Shams Khan's body and with it escaped to his home. The Emperor appointed Isa Khan Main to be deputy *faujdar* of Baith Jalandhar, with the rank of 1,500 *zat*, 1,000 horse.*

Owing to the death of Shams Khan, the inhabitants of the Bari Duab, especially of Batala and Kalanaur, two important towns, fled from their homes, with their families and such property as they could remove, taking refuge in Lahor or other places of safety. As soon as the Sikhs found that the towns and villages were not defended, they placed in them armed posts and slaughtered all those upon whom they could lay hands. A force was also sent by them across the river Ravi to devastate the Rachnau Duab ; Aurangabad, Parsaror, and other places were taken and many houses burnt.†

On the 23rd Rabi II. 1123 (9th June, 1711) Hamid Khan Bahadur returned to head-quarters, then at Hushyarpur, and at the same time it was reported that Isa Khan Main had inflicted a severe defeat on the Sikhs. As the victor was a *protege* of the eldest Prince, Jahandar Shah, that Prince received robes of honour as a compliment for the victory. Five days later (28th Rabi II. 1123, 14th June, 1711), Muhammad Amin Khan Chin, and Rustam Dil Khan, wrote that, near Parsur (or Parsaror), they had also defeated the Guru, who had fled without any followers into the hill-country of Jammu. In these operations against the Sikhs, Rustam Dil Khan is said to have committed great excesses against the inhabitants of Kathotha, Barwal,‡ and other parganas, seizing many persons on the wrongful accusation of being Sikhs, and giving them to his soldiers in lieu of pay. These latter sold the poor wretches in the horse-market (*nakhkhas*) at Lahor.§

* Mirza Muhammad, 215, 237.

† *Ibidem*. Aurangabad (not traced); Parsaror, a few miles s. of Sialkot.

‡ Kathotha (in Rachnau Duab, *Ain* ii. 321); Barwal (not traced).

§ Kamwar Khan, 92; Qasim, 103.

Soon, the two commanders, Muhammad Amin Khan and Rustam Dil Khan, began to quarrel and send in complaints against each other. From this cause the pursuit relaxed. The charge against Rustam Dil Khan was that, after he had learnt the Guru's hiding-place in the hills, and had resolved to surround it, the fugitive made overtures of humble submission, and on several occasions sent large presents of money to his pursuer. These presents caused Rustam Dil Khan to delay his advance. By this remissness the Guru succeeded in effecting his escape. Muhammad Amin Khan's story was believed, and Rustam Dil Khan was recalled to Lahor. From that time the operations slackened.*

One account states that Rustam Dil Khan's offence was leaving his troops and returning to Lahor without orders. Whichever is the true version, it is certain that on the 19th Rajab, 1123 (1st September, 1711), Islam Khan, general of artillery, Mahabat Khan, Mukhlis Khan and Sarbarah Khan, the *kotwal*, were sent to arrest him. He was brought in during the night, seated on the carriage of a field-piece. Orders issued to put fetters on his feet and convey him to the citadel of Lahor. On his way to prison, a number of men who had suffered at his hands, cursed him and threw dust at him ; but true to his reckless character, he was not in the least dejected, and occupied himself in interchanging witticisms with the men in charge of him, who were seated on the same elephant. Some of the bystanders shouted out, "Pimp! Pimp!" Now, as Islam Khan was following his prisoner on another elephant, Rustam Dil Khan retorted unabashed, "Which do you mean? The pimp in front or the one behind?" His office of Mir Tuzak was given to another man, and Inayatullah Khan, the *Khan-saman*, or Lord Steward, was directed to confiscate his property. The amount reported was 500 gold coins (*ashrafi*) 1,36,000 Rupees, 11 elephants, 70 horses, 18 camels, some jewels, and forty cart-loads of tents. After a few months the culprit was released, and received the name of Ghazanfar

* Warid, 125*b*. Rustam Dil Khan was the grandson of Allah Wirdi Khan Shahjahani.

Khan in place of his old titles (20th Shawwal, 1123=30th November, 1711).*

On the 14th Zul Hijja, 1123 (22nd January 1712), barely a month before Bahadur Shah's death, Muhammad Amin Khan reported a severe fight with the Sikhs, and with his letter he sent in five hundred heads. But, on the Emperor's death, Muhammad Amin Khan left that part of the country and returned to the imperial camp with the object of taking part in the fight for the succession. The Guru saw his opportunity and once more took possession of the town of Sadhaura, and restored the fort of Lohgarh. Here he remained undisturbed for about two months. When Jahandar Shah's accession had taken place, Muhammad Amin Khan was sent back to continue the campaign, and Zain-ud-din Ahmad Khan, *faujdar* of *Chakla* Sarhind, was ordered to put himself under that general's orders. For several months the investment of Sadhaura was maintained without result. Then, towards the end of the year 1124 (December, 1712), when Jahandar Shah left Dihli for Agra to oppose the advance of Farrukh-siyar, he recalled Muhammad Amin Khan to head-quarters. Subsequent events will fall within the reign of Farrukh-siyar.†

APPENDIX I. SOURCES OF SIKH HISTORY.

[The special points in Mr. W. Irvine's sketch of early Sikh history are :—(1) An attempt to get rid of the fable mixed up with the Sikh legends, and to work the residue of fact into some sort of historical order ; (2) to clear the story, as far as possible, from numerous discrepancies and obscurities of place and date ; (3) the introduction of new matter from contemporary Muhammadan sources ; (4) new first-hand evidence for the date of Govind Singh's death ; and lastly (5) the identification of the places referred to in the course of the narrative.]

* Kamwar Khan, 95, 98, and *Dastur-ul-aml*, B. M., *Oriental MSS.* 1690, *fol.* 115*b*.

† Kamwar Khan, 100; Mirza Muhammad, 215-237.

I. PRINTED BOOKS (ENGLISH)

1. Browne.—*India Tracts,* by Major James Browne, 4to., London, 1788. Translation of a Pers. MS. written by two Hindus at Browne's desire.
2. Rennell.—*Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan,* by Major James Rennell 4to., London, 1793.
3. G. Forster.—*A Journey from Bengal to England,* by George Forster, 2 Vols., 8vo., London, 1808.
4. Malcolm.—*Sketch of the Sikhs,* by Lt.-Col. John Malcolm, 8vo., London, 1812. Reprint from *Asiatic Researches,* Vol. ii.
5. *The Siyar-ul-mutakherin,* by Mir Ghulam Husain Khan (translation), edited by Lt.-Col. J. Briggs (O. T. Fund), 8vo., London, 1832.
6. McGregor.—*The History of the Sikhs,* by Dr. W. L. McGregor, 2 Vols., 8vo., London, 1846. Some confusion of dates.
7. Cunningham.—*History of the Sikhs,* by Capt. J. D. Cunningham, 8vo., London, 1853.
8. Thornton.—*Gazetteer of the Territories under the E. I. Co.,* by E. Thornton, 8vo., London, 1862.
9. *Sakhi Book.*—Translation of, by Sirdar Sir Attar Singh, K.C.I.E., Chief of Bhadaur, 8vo., Benares, 1873.
10. Dr. E. Trumpp.—*Adi Granth* (translation). London, 1877.
11. *Firuzpur Gazetteer.*—8vo., Lahor, 1883-4.
12. C. J. Rodgers.—Article in *Journal, As. Soc. Bengal,* Vol. lvii, 1888.
13. *Ain-i-Akbari,* (translation), Vol. ii, by Col. H. S. Jarrett, (*Bib. Ind.*) 8vo., Calcutta, 1891.
14. S. Mhd. Latif.—*History of the Panjab,* by Sayyid Muhammad Latif, 8vo., Calcutta, 1891.

II. PRINTED BOOKS (PERSIAN AND URDU)

15. *Dastur-ul-insha,* by Yar Muhammad, compiled c. 1170 H., Folio, Calcutta, 1253 H.
16. *Masir-i-Alamgiri,* by Mhd. Saqi, Mustaid Khan, composed 1122 H., (*Bib. Ind.*) 8vo., Calcutta, 1871.

17. Khafi Khan.—*Muntakhab-ul-lubab*, by Mhd. Hashim, Khafi Khan, (*Bib. Ind.*) 8vo., Calcutta, 1874.

18. *Masir-ul-umara*, by Shah Nawaz Khan, (*Bib. Ind.*) 3 vols., 8vo., Calcutta, 1888-91.

19. *Shamsher-i-khalsa*, by Gyan Singh, Gyani, and Babu Raj Indar Singh. (Urdu) 4to. Litho., Sialkot, 1891.

III. MANUSCRIPTS (PERSIAN)

20. *Dastur-ul-aml.*—British Museum, Oriental MSS., No. 1690.

21. Danishmand Khan.—*Bahadur-Shah-nama*, by Danishmand Khan, Ali (1122 H.). B. M., *Or. 24*, and my copy. See also Elliot, vii. 568.

22. *Anonymous Fragment of a "Farrukh-siyar-nama"* (c. 1131 H.).—My copy. [I find on further comparison and study that this is a portion of Mhd. Ihsan Ijad's History, of which another fragment is in the B. M., *Or., 25.*]

23. Mirza Mhd.—A memoir or *Tazkira* (called in some places *Ibratnama*), by Mirza Muhammad, Harisi, (1133 H.). My copy, and India Office, No. 50.

24. Qasim.—*Ibratnama*, by Mhd. Qasim, Lahori (c. 1133 H.). My copy, and I. O. Library, No. 194, [also in B. M.]. See also Elliot, vii. 569.

25. *Fatuhat-nama-i-Samadi*, by Ghulam Muhi-ud-din (composed 1135 H.) B. M., *Or., 1870.*

26. Kamwar Khan.—*Tazkirat-us-salatin-i-Chaghtaiyah*, by Mhd. Hadi, Kamwar Khan, Vol. II. My two copies (to 6th year of Mhd. Shah) [Also in Library R. Asiatic Society (to 7th year of Mhd. Shah), and I. O. Library (only to second year of Mhd. Shah.) There is no copy of the second vol. in the B. M.] See also Elliot, viii. 17.

27. Warid.—*Mirat-i-Waridat*, by Mhd. Shafi, Warid, (up to 1147 H.). B. M. 6579. See also Elliot, viii. 21.

28. Rustam Ali.—*Tarikh-i-Hindi*, by Rustam Ali,

Shahabadi (1149 H.). B. M., *Or., 1628*. See also Elliot, viii. 40.

29. Yahya Khan.—*Tazkirat-ul-muluk*, by Yahya Khan, Mir Munshi, (1149 H.). I. O. Lib., 1149 (Ethe No. 409).

30. Khush-hal Chand.—*Nadir-uz-zamani* (after 1161 H.). B. M. *Additional, 24,027*. See also Elliot, viii. 70.

31. *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, by Mirza Muhammad, Harisi (author of No. 23), (*c.* 1163 H.). B. M., *Or., 1824*, and my copy.

32. Muin-ud-din, Buta Shah.—*Tarikh-i-Panjab* (composed 1264 H., 1847-48 A.D.). My copy, [also in B. M.]

SEC. 22.—BAHADUR SHAH MARCHES TO LAHOR, DEATH OF MUNIM KHAN, WAZIR

On the 13th December, 1710 the Emperor moved his camp to an opening leading to the pass through the hills, and then nine days later to the village of Puri. The weather continued to be very stormy, there was heavy rain, and the cold was intense. As soon as the tents could be moved, they recrossed the Som river, and encamped again near Sadhaurah. As soon as the rain had abated a little, a short march was made, and again in a few days they moved close to the villages of Sarwarpur and Rasulpur.

On the 15th February, 1711 the camp was at Bhadoli, and here it was reported that Munim Khan, the chief minister, was suffering from some affection in the face, of the nature of gangrene, which had attacked his eye and ear. A halt was accordingly made, and after thirteen days, Munim Khan expired (28 Feb. 1711).* His age was a few months over sixty years. His body was sent to Dihli to be buried near the Qutb ; and Bahadur Shah, who was in great sorrow at the loss of his chief adviser, conferred on his sons and family the whole of the deceased's property, which the official valuers reported to be worth three

* The place of his death is named *Buriyah* [in the Duab between the Satlaj and the Bias]. (Mirza Muhammad, *f.* 98*a*, and *T-i-Mdi*).

krors of Rupees (about 3 millions of pounds sterling). The Emperor's private physician, Mutamad-ul-mulk, was sent to the survivors with consolatory messages, followed by one hundred trays of food from the royal kitchen.

MUNIM KHAN, HIS CAREER AND CHARACTER.

Munim Khan,* born about 1062 H. (1651-2) was the son of Sultan Beg, of the Badakhshi tribe of Birlas, a man who had held office first as *kotwal* of Agra and then in some subordinate post in Kashmir. On his father's death, Munim Khan went to the Dakhin to push his fortunes, and his bravery attracted the notice of Ruhullah Khan, then Mir Bakhshi, through whom he obtained an introduction to Alamgir. His first recorded office was that of *amin* to the *Haft Chauki* (a name for the establishment of pages or *khawas*) in place of Mir Abdul Karim, Multafat Khan. This was in the 34th year of Alamgir. Ten years afterwards we find him at the siege of Parnala and Pawangarh, two Mahratta strongholds, and in the succeeding year he received the gift of an Arab horse with gold trappings in acknowledgment of further services. In 1114 H. he became superintendent of the elephant stables with the rank of 1,000 *zat* (300 horse). But owing to a charge made against him by Muhammad Amin Khan of not making sufficient haste to reinforce that noble, he was reduced in rank by 250 horse and the appointment in the elephant stable taken away. The Emperor's eldest son Muhammad Muazzam (afterwards Bahadur Shah) now became his patron. At his own request, Munim Khan was transferred from the Dakhin to Kabul. He replaced Aslam Khan as *diwan* or chief revenue officer to the Prince (1705), and shortly after succeeded the same noble as *diwan* of the subah of Kabul. In the next year he became the Prince's deputy in the Lahor subah and his rank was increased to 1,500 *zat*, (1,000 horse). From this point his fortunes, following those of his patron, Muhammad Muazzam, have been already sufficiently recorded in these pages.

---

* *M. U.* iii. 667-677; K. K. 502; *M. A.* 338, 437, 450-451, 459, 464, 482-497. *Dil.* 164*a*, 167*a*.

Although Munim Khan can hardly be called a great minister, he was at least a fairly good one, and considering the many difficulties which were crowded into the five years of his ministry, he may be held not altogether unsuccessful. Perhaps it may be laid to his charge and that of Bahadur Shah that there was too great a love of compromise, a habit of patching up any arrangement for the sake of obtaining temporary relief from an embarrassment without sufficient thought for the ultimate result of leaving the evil uneradicated.

Personally he was hospitable and pleasant mannered, absolutely free from haughtiness and vain glory, firmly attached to his friends, and courteous to all. Even a man of low rank was honoured by him if the man had been known to him in his own humbler days. His conduct as minister was free from avarice and self-aggrandizement, and even the details of business were most scrupulously attended to. [Iradat Khan, K.K. 675.]* He also instituted a reform in the mode of charging officers for the feed of Government-cattle, which is gratefully referred to by Khafi Khan. He was skilled in various arts and also wrote verses. In religion he was inclined to the Sufi heresy, and wrote a book on the subject called *Ilhamat-i-munami* or the 'Beneficent Revelation.' The rationalistic views of this work are condemned by the author of the *Masir-ul-umara*. (iii. 675).†

With the idea of perpetuating his name and fame, he formed the project of building in every important town a mansion, a traveller's hostel (*sarai*), and an enclosed market (*katra*). Unfortunately the local officials in their over-zeal were guilty of many harsh acts in acquiring the land required for these buildings. Thus, what was begun out of a benevolent intention was productive of more harm than good. At the time

* Khafi Khan (964), in recounting the facts of Ahmadabad-Gujarat, charges Munim Kh. with re-imposing 30 to 40 lakhs of Rupees reduced by Akbar besides adding to the *jama kamil*.

† Anand Ram [*Mirat-ul-istilah, fol.* 152*b*] says that Iradat Khan Wazih was the real author, and that he was one of those who encouraged Munim Khan in his Sufi opinions. The work was headed by a verse instead of the usual "In the name of God."

of his death many of the houses were still incomplete, and from that time they fell into decay without ever having been of the least use to anybody. Much of the land thus used was vacant town land which was purchased by the Wazir. In connection with these alienations, Mukhlis Khan (Mughal Beg) one day out of ill-will and a desire to make mischief, said to Bahadur Shah that if the rulers of Iran or Rum heard that His Majesty was selling land to one of his subjects, they would think it a disgrace to him. Although he was reputed to be so heedless, Bahadur Shah gave a very good answer: "Mukhlis Khan! What harm have I done? I give him unused land with nothing on it, and he spends a large amount in bringing it into order. He is an old man; tomorrow he may die, and it will all come back to the State." [K. K. 675 ; *M.U.* iii. 676.]

DISPUTE OVER THE APPOINTMENT OF A NEW WAZIR.

On the death of Munim Khan, his eldest son Mahabat Khan came with tears in his eyes to Prince Azim-ush-shan and asserted his claim to succeed his father as chief minister. Azim-ush-shan, who was then in high favour with his father, Bahadur Shah, wiped away Mahabat Khan's tears. The Khan recited the verse, "What avails it to wipe the tear from my cheek? Apply a remedy to my bleeding heart." The Prince promised to use his best endeavours to secure the appointment for Mahabat Khan.* At his interview on the next day with the Emperor, he represented that Munim Khan's son was one of his most faithful protégés and he recommended his appointment as Wazir. The Emperor answered that he had full confidence in Azim-ush-shan. If the candidate was fit for the post and would act according to the Prince's orders, there could be no objection. But Mahabat Khan's ways were so notorious as to need no discussion, and in the end the Prince's patience would be exhausted by his ill temper. Meanwhile it had become known that Zulfiqar Khan looked on the vacant wazirship as his father's right. Asad Khan had given way when he found that the new sovereign had promised to make the late Munim

* *Dastur-ul-insha*, 14.

Khan his chief minister. But now that Munim Khan was dead Asad Khan was, in his son's opinion, the only person who could fill the vacancy. Zulfiqar Khan like other far-seeing men of that period, looked to the possibility of future independence in the Dakhin and was in no case willing to relinquish his hold on those provinces of which he was subahdar. [*M.U.* ii. 98]. Bahadur Shah held that the union of the offices of Wazir, Mir Bakhshi and governor of the Dakhin in one family was likely to be productive of danger to the dynasty. Often in private Bahadur Shah expressed the vexation and annoyance which this dispute caused him. [K. K. 678]. It was part of his character that he should wish to oblige everybody and refuse no one's demand. One project was to make a nominal Wazir of the Safawi Prince Muhammad Hashim (afterwards called Khalifa Sultan), a royal refugee from Iran, nominating one of the diwans to perform the actual duties. But the Irani Prince after his arrival at Court gave such offence by his haughty manners that no one could endure him, and the plan fell through. One compromise offered was that Mahabat Khan should replace Zulfiqar Khan in the six provinces of the Dakhin and that Zulfiqar Khan should then be the new Wazir. This arrangement in no way accorded with Zulfiqar Khan's views, and pleading filial respect as making it impossible for him to be chief minister in his father's lifetime, he refused the offer. At length, as a temporary measure, the real power being left in the hands of Prince Azim-ush-shan, Hidayatullah Khan (afterwards Sadullah Khan), eldest son of Inayatullah Khan, *Khan-saman,* and at that time diwan of the *Khalsa* and *Tan,* was appointed chief diwan (a part of the minister's duties) with instructions to sign and seal orders after the manner formerly employed by Kifayat Khan Jafar. His title was changed to that of Wazarat Khan. This appointment was made on the 5th March, 1711. After a short time Wazarat Khan asked for the title of Sadullah Khan, which was that formerly held by the most renowned of Shah Jahan's Wazirs. The Emperor said "It is not easy to be a Sadullah Khan ; let him be called Saidullah Khan." But in spite of this, he generally passed by the name of Sadullah Khan. [Kamwar, Yahya 115*b*, *M.U.* ii. 504.]

THE MARCH TO LAHOR.

On the 7th March, 1711, the camp was moved from Bhadole to Abdullahpur. After some days spent in fishing in the *Shah-nahr* or royal canal and in elephant fighting, the march was resumed, the next stages being Budhawali, Sahaura, Rasur, Fathpur and Dheripur, and four other halts, reaching Rupar near the banks of the Satlaj on the 30th April. They moved nearer the river on the 2nd May, and the Emperor crossed the stream on the 17th May by a bridge of boats. A move to Minnatpur was made on the 23rd and to Naushara on the 25th. After halts at Akbarpur and Dharmpur, they reached Hushyarpur on the 9th June, and on the 23rd Bahadur Shah crossed the Bias by a bridge of boats to the village of Sahu. During the night heavy rain fell, the bridge was broken, and some of the boats carried away. Prince Azim-ush-shan's camp and the advance-tents were left on the other side, and could not cross till four days afterwards. After twenty-one days spent close to the Bias river, the camp was removed to Narayanpur in pargana Kanu-wahan, described as the imperial hunting-preserve of the Panjab. A halt was made at the town of Kanu-wahan on the 17th July, they were at Kalanaur on the 29th, Jamari on the 30th July, and Panj Karanwe on the 3rd August. The final march was to the neighbourhood of Lahor which was reached on the 11th August, 1711. [Kamwar].

The fortress and palace in Lahor city were not entered. The Emperor and his four sons remained outside the city in their encampment, as if they were still on the march. The only difference was that the draught cattle and beasts of burden were dismissed, much of the impedimenta sent into store, and many of the *karkhanas* or manufacturing establishments which accompanied the camp were sent elsewhere. The imperial encampment was pitched near the village of Anwala, not far from the bank of the river Ravi. Azim-ush-shan took up a position between the Emperor and the river, and surrounded himself by a sort of fortification made out of the carts in which he carried his treasure. Prince Muizz-ud-din's camp lay near the market-place of Parwezabad facing the city. Prince Rafi-ush-shan was close to the river bank near Dharmus Bagh, while

Prince Jahan Shah went to some distance and encamped in the open plain near the tomb of the saint Shah Mir *Khush* (3 miles s.e. of the city). [Qasim 37, Iradat.]

SEC. 23.—THE KHUTBA RIOT AT LAHOR.

Early in his reign Bahadur Shah had directed an alteration in the public prayer for the sovereign put up every Friday in every mosque throughout the land. The word *wasi* or heir was to be added to the titles of Ali, Commander of the Faithful, in the recital of Muhammad's successors. This alteration raised the never ending controversy between the Sunni and the Shias as to the rightful succession to the prophet, and Indian Muhammadans being almost all Sunnis, this formal attribution of heirship to Ali was naturally offensive to their religious feelings. Riots had been caused at Ahmadabad and elsewhere by the attempt to recite the new form of prayer.. At Lahor, owing to the objections of the doctors of the law, no *khutba* had been recited for some time. [K. K. 603, 661, 681.]

On reaching Lahor, Bahadur Shah summoned the learned men of that city of whom Haji Yar Muhammad, Muhammad Murad and three or four other well-known men attended. They were directed to sit down before the Emperor in the *tasbih-khana* or praying room. Abdul Qadir nephew of Qazi Mir and two or three other doctors attached to the camp argued the point. Even Bahadur Shah in person quoted books of authority and traditions to prove the use of the word *wasi*. Haji Yar Muhammad, in meeting the Emperor's arguments, forgot all the usual modes of respect and spoke violently. Bahadur Shah lost his temper and asked him if he had no fear of the sovereign's anger. The Haji retorted that from the Great Giver he besought four things only, learning, recollection of God's word, pilgrimage to the holy places, and martyrdom. "Thanks be to God, three of these favours have been conferred, the fourth by the condescension of a just ruler may also be secured." In investigating these arguments, several days were passed. A number of men in the city, backed up by many Afghan commanders, in all some 100,000 men, promised to support Haji Yar Muhammad. In secret Azim-ush-shan, too, was opposed to the innovation.

At first Bahadur Shah held firmly to his purpose, the *khatib*, or reciter of the prayer, at Lahor was arrested and sent to be imprisoned at Agra, while Islam Khan received orders to march into the city on the next Friday at the head of all the artillery and to see that the *khutba* in the form appointed was duly read. But finally on the 2nd October, 1711, the *khutba* in the old form was recited at the Jama Masjid of Lahor in the presence of a large armed force and many of the nobles, who had been sent to preserve order. The form accepted was the same as in Alamgir's reign. In it were many honorific titles attached to the name of Ali, but the actual word in dispute, *wasi*, did not appear. The fact that the Emperor had given way was hardly known and several thousand men of every class had assembled round the mosque ready for an outbreak, and it was only when they heard the old *khutba* that they dispersed. [Kamwar.]*

* [Yahya 115*b*-116*b*.] Bahadur Shah had strayed from the orthodox faith of the *Sunnat*. He therefore sent for the learned men of the Panjab and reciting various traditions favourable to Ali said 'Are these correct? or inventions'? The learned men replied 'They are correct; and in respect of other companions there are many chapters (*fasl*) of traditions, there is no dependence (*hasan*) on such traditions for one only.' After that the Emperor recited several traditions from which the Lord of the Faithful (Ali) was shown as heir (*Wasi*) and he asked 'Are these traditions, too, correct or not?' They said 'It is correct.' The Emperor replied 'Therefore it is necessary to call the Lord of the Faithful Ali (the grace of God be upon him) the Chosen Heir (*Wasi-i-mustaffa*) in the public prayer (*khutba*).' From this they believed the rumours to be true that they had already heard, namely that Bahadur Shah had become a Shia, and they thought, if we agree to this, he will in future be able to say 'you must recite such and such words.' It would be better not to consent now. Therefore they replied 'There is no doubt that Ali was the Chosen Heir, but in the form of *khutba* fixed in the past by men of learning and perfect in the faith (*mujtahid*)—and thought best by them—and ordered to be recited, if the word *wasi* is left out therein that is no denial of Ali's heirship. Accordingly, in the holy *Quran* the word *sahib* (companion) with regard to the Lord of the Faithful (*Sadiq Akbar*) is distinctly fixed, *Qaulah taali az qal lasahabahu la tahzan an ullah manad*. Although we do not refer to him in the *khutba* by those words, there is by their omission no denial of his companionship (*Razi ullah anahu*.)' And although they gave reasonable answers he was not satisfied. He said 'I will give orders that if you do not obey I will make you eat out of the same platter as the dogs.' They said 'That matters not—for we feared that you

SEC. 24.—ILLNESS AND DEATH OF BAHADUR SHAH.

Some months were passed quietly at Lahor. Enquiries were made from Inayatullah Khan about the number of stages to Kashmir. A few proposed that the Emperor should move to Kangra for the hot weather, as it was so much nearer than Kashmir, and that he should return to Lahor in the cold season. To these and other proposals Bahadur Shah's only reply was the verse "Paradise is there where no harm is received, where no one has (any) concern with any other." He would not, he said, fix any month or year for the march, the establishments had all dispersed, his days of journeying were drawing to an end, and there was only left the one inevitable journey. He busied himself in altering and improving the garden of Shalimar, although he did not live long enough to receive any pleasure from the work.* [Kamwar, Qasim.]

---

would make us eat out of one platter with yourself.' At this speech he was very enraged. When they had gone he ordered 'Let all these learned men of Lahor be arrested tomorrow. I will order them to be imprisoned and afterwards I will have them executed.' He ordered that Lahor should be entitled *Dar-ul-jihad*. On hearing this Muizz-ud-din sent all his troops and artillery to protect the learned men, saying 'If the imperial troops attacked them I will come out myself and join them.' Hearing this the Emperor gave up his intention. But in a few days he sent for seven of the best and most noted men and put them in prison, sending them to Gwaliyar. He ordered the *khutba* to be read in Dihli as he had directed. Asaf-ud-daulah on seeing the order said 'This cannot take effect in Hindustan; it is not Iran,' and refused to let it be recited saying he would write to the Emperor about it. Bahadur Shah, seeing he could not enforce his change and at Gujarat and Kashmir it had ended in the murder of the reciter (*khatib*), felt shame and became insane. He was not able to sleep at nights and dogs became hateful to him. He ordered every one in camp to kill a dog whenever they saw it. Thousands of dogs were killed. The learned men sent to Gwaliyar prayed for the destruction of the sovereign. When they got to Akbarabad, Baqi Khan Chela, the commandant, sent for them and entertained them and sent them on and prayed them to stop those supplications and he would intercede for their release. They made evasive answers, and continued as before on reaching Gwaliyar; and a few days passed. In the month of Muharram the Emperor fell ill.

* Kamraj, *Ibratnama* 44*b*. B. S. went out only once in a boat, and except that once did not go out hunting after reaching Lahor—nay, never

About the middle of January 1712 the Emperor's health failed.* Preparations for the annual celebration of his accession were made, but he was unable to appear. It would seem that he began to be troubled by delusions, for he gave orders to kill every dog both in the camp and the city. Hundreds were killed every day. Amin-ud-din, whose tent was on the bank of the river, himself saw the city dogs at early dawn jumping into the river and swimming to the other side, only returning after dark to the houses of those who fed them. Bahadur Shah held his last audience on the 24th February 1712. The next day he was reported to be ill, but no danger was anticipated. On the 26th it was noticed that the Princes were preparing for their own safety, and on the following day it was known that there was no hope and the men in camp began to send their families and property into the city, which was about two *kos* from the camp. Among those who sought refuge with their families in Lahor were Wazarat Khan, Inayatullah Khan, his father, the *Sadar-us-sadur,* Sayyid Amjad Khan, and Ikhlas Khan, the superintendent of *arz mukarrar*. [Kamwar, *Dastur-ul-insha* 15, *Siyar,* Mirza Md. 126.]

A great commotion existed during the three days of the Emperor's illness. From several sources we have accounts of the general consternation and hurrying to and fro. It is a pitiful picture! The poor old Emperor left in spite of all his worldly state, to die alone, his four sons being unable to stifle their hostility and their greed for his succession, even until the breath was out of their father's body. Nay, the dead body lay unheeded fully a month before it was sent off from Lahor for burial at Dihli. The second Prince Azim-ush-shan remained with his father till hope had gone and then left for his own quarters. As he left he directed Amin-ud-din Sambhali to

moved once outside the enclosure of his tents. He had ordered new stones to be laid in the Shalimar *bagh* and his visit there was expected from day to day.

* Yahya K. 116*b*. "They say that an inverted sore (*dumbal-i-makush*) formed on his stomach, and some have said other things which are not fit for me to repeat nor in accordance with his honour. God alone knows the truth!"

remain and report from hour to hour the progress of affairs. Amin-ud-din hid himself in the tent called the *kitab-khana* or library. After a time he learnt for a certainty that the Emperor was dead, and that Zulfiqar Khan, Hamid-ud-din Khan and Mahfuz Khan were preparing the body for the grave. The Prince's emissary made haste to his master and told him the news. After wiping away a few tears from the Prince's eyes, Amin-ud-din asked, "Why make further delay in proclaiming the new reign?" Azim-ush-shan told him he had leave to act, and Amin-ud-din gave orders that the drums should be beaten. [Kamwar.]

Just before sunset on the 25th February 1712, Prince Rafi-ush-shan the third son left his quarters at the mansion of Ali Mardan Khan in Lahor with the intention of visiting the Emperor. Kamwar Khan met his retinue in the sands of the Ravi and asked for orders in certain matters. After a word or two the Prince said there was then no time. Kamwar Khan returned to the ruin of which he had taken possession as his abode. Evening prayer was in progress when a camel-rider brought a verbal message from Sandal Khan, head eunuch (*nazir*) to Prince Rafi-ud-darjat, then with his father, ordering Kamwar Khan to join him with some of the Prince's men. Taking forty or fifty well armed men, Kamwar Khan made all possible haste towards the imperial camp. On reaching the river bed, they saw torches approaching. It was the Prince's retinue. One of the troopers rode up and told them that the Emperor had been laid up for over a day with swelling of the spleen. Prince Rafi-ush-shan had reached the Emperor's quarters about sundown. The eldest Prince Muizz-ud-din Jahandar Shah, came out of the enclosing screens (*gulal-bar*) in a state of the greatest consternation and bringing his litter (*nalki*) close to that of his younger brother said, "The time of departure." Rafi-ush-shan turned back and sent a letter from his own quarters by the hand of a eunuch asking what His Majesty's wishes were. Bahadur Shah wrote on the letter with his own hand that the Prince should hurry home to his own house. "There", said the trooper, pointing with his hand, "there is the Prince coming, with his retinue." As they were

talking, the Prince arrived, and Kamwar Khan asked for orders for himself and his men. The Prince directed them to go home, and in the morning it would be known how matters stood. [Kamwar.]

During the night of the 27th February, 1712, the Emperor died. By Kamwar Khan's account it would appear that his complaint was enlargement of the spleen.* Maulavi Muradullah, Mahfuz Khan and Abdul Qadir prepared the body for burial and laid it in a bier. It lay unburied until the succession of the throne had been decided, when it was despatched to Dihli on the 11th April in the charge of Bibi Mihr-Parwar, the Emperor's widow, and of Chin Qilich Muhammad Khan, and on its arrival there on the 15th May it was buried in the courtyard of a marble mosque erected by Alamgir near the shrine of Qutb-ud-din Kaki. As he was born on the 30th Rajab 1053 he was 70 (lunar) years, 5 months, 20 days at his death. Counting from the date of Alamgir's death (28th Zul Qada 1118), the official date of accession (18th Zul Hijja 1118), the enthronement at Lahor (30th Muharram) or the victory over Azam Shah (18th Rabi I. 1119), respectively he had reigned 5 (lunar) years 1 m. 22 d., 5 (lunar) years 1 m. 2 d., 4 (lunar) years 11 m. 20 d., or 4 lunar years 10 m. 2 d. The official date of accession to the throne was the 18th Zul Hijja 1118, the date on which Bahadur Shah heard of his father's death. His full titles were *Abul-nasr Sayyid Qutb-ud-din Muhammad Shah Alam Bahadur Shah Badshah*. After his death he is styled by native historians *Khuld-manzil* or 'Departed to Paradise'.†

* Valentyn, 291, says he died at noon of 28th and the cause was apoplexy following on a cold. He also reproduces a rumour, evidently mere camp gossip, that Bahadur Shah was severely wounded in the stomach by a general "Jensiati Chan," who was surprised in company of one of the Emperor's wives. The murderer was in turn cut down within the harem by two of the guards. Bahadur Shah was supposed to have survived the wound three days. Some authorities [Viceroy of Goa] say the Emperor was poisoned, but no evidence is brought forward.

† Kamwar, Qasim 43, Mirza Md. 137, K. K. 684, Br. Mus. *Addl.* 16,713 See account of annual ceremonies at his tomb carried out by Mihr-Parwar Begam. (Kamwar 115-116).

The word *Sayyid* or Lord, which is confined to the descendants of the Prophet, appears in the above titles because Bahadur Shah, on very insufficient grounds claimed Sayyid lineage. This claim had never been made by any of his predecessors of the house of Taimur. The story goes that one Sayyid Shah Mir, a descendant of Abdul Qadir Jilani, resorted to the country near Kashmir which was ruled by Bahadur Shah's maternal grandfather. The Rajah became a disciple of and gave his daughter in marriage to the Sayyid. They had issue one son and one daughter. Then the Sayyid set out on a pilgrimage to Mecca and was never heard of again. The children were brought up secretly by their grandfather. Then the Emperor Shah Jahan demanded tribute of money and a daughter from that Rajah. The Sayyid's daughter accompanied by presents was sent to him. The girl was instructed by Muhammadan teachers appointed by the Emperor, and in due course married to Prince Aurangzeb. Her Muhammadan name was Kalimat-un-nissa, commonly called Nawab Bai Begam, and the sarai in Khandesh, at the foot of the Fardapur Pass, was built by her. This place was for a long time held by her in jagir. There is a ward in Aurangabad founded by her and called after her *Baiji-pura*. If the above story about the faqir is true, which is very unlikely, Bahadur Shah was of Sayyid descent through his mother. [K. K. i. 594.]

SEC. 25.—CHARACTER OF BAHADUR SHAH.

All accounts agree in representing Bahadur Shah as a man of mild and equable temper, learned, dignified and generous to a fault. With these qualities must have been united much command of his feelings and a power of profound dissimulation.* His mode of bearing the disgrace and indignity heaped on him by his father, proves the one, and the way in which he misled his brother as to his intention not to claim the throne proves the other. Although not so bigoted as his father, he was pious, and on Friday all business was suspended, the day being passed in prayer. He never neglected the opportunity of

* *Storia do Mogor*, ii. 394-396; iv. 245.

visiting a holy man or the tomb of a saint. He believed in omens, moreover, consulted astrologers as to the auspicious day for a battle, and complied with their directions on the occasion of an eclipse. He was kind to his children and their families, visiting them in sickness and condoling with them in time of sorrow. He could at times give way to anger, as we have seen when he rated Munim Khan after that minister's failure to capture Banda, though such outbursts were extremely rare. One personal peculiarity is noted by Iradat Khan, that this Emperor had an aversion to being in a house. Probably the habit of living in a camp had grown on him owing to the fact that from an early age he was constantly on military service in the Dakhin. When in charge of Kabul, he seems to have wandered about from place to place for the ten years or more that he was there. Certainly, from the day that he started to claim the crown until the day of his death, he never slept one night within four walls, and the occasions on which he even entered a building in the daytime could be counted on the fingers of one hand. We have a daily record of his movements for that period in the histories of Danishmand Khan and Kamwar Khan. He was in the habit of sitting up very late at night, and thus his marches began at a late hour in the morning, causing much inconvenience to the camp-followers who, not arriving till nightfall,, could not find their own camp or tents and were forced to pass the night lying near the drum tent or the imperial audience-hall or among the shop-keepers. (K. K. 630.) A European traveller, who saw him about the year 1695 when he was 52 years of age, describes him as "tall and of a portly form, his beard thick, long, and beginning to grow white." (Gemelli Careri *Voyage du Tour du Monde*, iii. 182. French edition, Paris, 1727.)

Although not a great sovereign, Bahadur Shah may be called, at least in comparison with his successors, a fairly successful one. In his time the dignity of the Empire was fairly maintained. Having selected a competent Wazir and other great officials, he left them to carry on their duties without intriguing against them himself or allowing others to do so. Unauthorized interference in public affairs was sternly

discouraged. Once a man holding an office in his personal retinue ventured to take advantage of this position to speak in favour of Mihrab Khan, faujdar of Jodhpur, then in disgrace for his abandonment of that city. His Majesty was angry and said that such affairs belonged to the great officers of State and ordered the man's removal from his post, as one ignorant of manners. [*Bahadur.*]

His great fault was over-generosity and an inability to say no to any one.* Tradition asserts that before his accession he made a vow that when he became Emperor he would never refuse any petitioner. He would at times throw ridicule on his own weakness. Once Hamid-ud-din asked the title of *Rai* for his private *diwan*, Kesari Singh. Bahadur Shah wrote across the petition "Khans in every house and Rais in every bazar! To please Hamid-ud-din Khan let this blockhead (*gidi*) also be a *Rai.*" After that, wherever the man went, they said "Here comes Gidi Rai." [Khush-hal Chand, 383*a.*] The *mansabs* or rank granted by Bahadur Shah were higher than ever before

* Yahya (116*b*) speaks of his servants' poverty before he attained the throne. At night-time some would come out to beg and many resorted to the imperial alms-distribution (*langar*) and took the cooked rice and pulses given to beggars and lived on that food. When they got pay they were again well off. This applied to all except a few favourites. The state of things arose because whenever news came that money was on the way the favourites would take 20,000, 40,000 or 50,000, 1 lakh or 2 lakhs of Rupees. What was by chance left was devoted to his own necessities—sometimes he paid it to his servants.

After his accession the imperial rule of cash *sadis* which was Rs. 120 for the *sadi* was set aside, and he retained the same rate as when he was a Prince, *viz.*, Rs. 83 for each *sadi*. Several other practices of his were different from those of sovereigns. He appointed one *darogha* of *baghs* for the whole realm with power to appoint and dismiss—the *daroghas* of any one *bagh* received their appointments as his deputy. In the same way Hakim-ul-mulk was made a *darogha* of the *Dar-ush-shafa* for the whole Empire, also one *darogha* for *Balghur-khana* (*balghur*=pounded wheat or dish of same) in all *langars*. Nobles remonstrated against this practice as likely to cause disorder and want of confidence and give rise to bribing and to diminish the good of establishments. Answer '*Zabtah anra goyand keh badshah wara mi kunad, in zabtah az ma mauzu ast.*' In the end each man sent what *naib* he liked without asking the Emperor. Great evils.

known, and titles were conferred regardless of the fact that another man already bore the same title. [K. K. 627-628.] Up to this time some slight difference, even of a single word, distinguished one title from another. In Bahadur Shah's reign an already perplexing system was made more perplexing still by this carelessness. As Khafi Khan relates, one *mansabdar* petitioned the Emperor that he had lost his family title by its grant to another person. On his petition Bahadur Shah wrote "Granted, granted, granted, even if another has it." From that time all system was abandoned and, as Danishmand Khan tells us, there were three men who at one time bore the title of Fazil Khan.

Ikhlas Khan, who held the post of *arz mukarrar*, (whose duty it was to bring up all orders a second time for confirmation), thought that some check should be devised on the Emperor's profuse grants of rank and money rewards. He consulted Munim Khan, the chief minister, and as neither of them felt inclined to face the storm of unpopularity sure to be raised among the crowd of needy office-seekers, they put this disagreeable duty upon Muhammad Saqi Mustaid Khan (author of the *Masir-i-Alamgiri*) through whose honesty and uprightness they hoped that their object would be effected. His duties were to receive all applications after the first order had passed upon them, and then institute an enquiry whether the new men were fit for the service, by what means or on what grounds office or promotion had been granted, whether the proposed rank was more than their position justified or whether the promotion was given before the proper period. He had also to enquire into the grants for the support of holy and learned men. These enquiries caused great delay. The Emperor's wives Mihr-Parwar and Amat-ul-habib and other near relations put great pressure upon Mustaid Khan and forced his signature [attesting the correctness of the pay-bills] from him. In this way great irregularities arose, and the Emperor's signature lost its value. In fact he used himself to say that from him they must look for nothing but consent to everything, the claims of God's people could not be denied by him, and his signature was a formality and they might do as they thought fit. His habit of granting

everything that was asked had become so notorious that some wit invented the words *Shah-i-be-khabar* (=1119), 'the unheeding king', as the chronogram for his accession. [K. K. 629-630.]

His administration still retained some traces of Aurangzeb's intolerance. We do not find in his reign, nor was there in the second half of his father's reign, any Hindu in high or independent office. There was no Hindu governor of a province: no Hindu in an important position about the Court. He allowed no Hindu to be employed as a reporter or *waqia-nigar*. No Hindu could ride in a *palki* and when the Sikh rising took place, all Hindus in the employment of the State were forced to shave. [*Bahadur.*]

Bahadur Shah in respect to his sons and other relations reversed the policy of his father. Instead of sending them away to distant provinces as governors, he kept them in attendance on his person. In one way the policy may be called successful. He was troubled by no revolt against his Government headed by a son or near relation, such as had been the case during the reigns of his father and most of his ancestors. To that extent he was justified by events, but as it turned out the struggle for the succession which, at the death of a Mughal Emperor, invariably broke out, if there were more than one son, though not so prolonged was perhaps more intense than ever before.

SEC. 26.—COINAGE OF BAHADUR SHAH.

In all other reigns except this and that of Muhammad Shah, the coinage bore a distich into which the name of the reigning Emperor was introduced. Danishmand Khan (poetically called *Ali*) composed two separate inscriptions neither of which was approved; and finally by Munim Khan's orders no verse was placed on the coin. They have on them the following inscription:—

Sikka Mubarak-i-Shah Alam Bahadur Badshah Ghazi

Ali's rejected verses were:—

(1) *Z nam-i-Shah Alam, Padshah, Ghazi, adil,*
Jahan ba khair o barkat shud iyar-i-sim-o-zar kamil.

(2) *Shah Alam Padshah ghazi gardun-janab*
Sikka shud roshan z nam-i-namish chun aftab.

With reference to coinage it may be well to note that early in 1119, on reaching Lahor Bahadur Shah coined Rupees which were half a *mashd* greater in weight than those in use before. Many lakhs of these coins were minted. But as in payment of official allowances and in commerce the old weight was made the basis of account, the heavier Rupee fell out of use. Another order as to coinage was that the Alamgiri *falus* or copper coin, formerly 14 *mashas* and then 21 *mashas* in weight, should bear the new Emperor's name. The weight is also stated as equal to 8 *mishqals* and 2 *dank*. The words placed on the copper coin were *Sikka-i-mubarak i Badshah Shah Alam Ghazi. [Bahadur-Shah-nama.]*

SEC. 27.—BAHADUR SHAH'S WIVES AND CHILDREN.

Two wives Mihr-Parwar and Amat-ul-habib survived Bahadur Shah, and the former accompanied his body from Lahor to Dihli. The second of these ladies, also called Aziz-un-nissa Khanam, died in Dihli on the 22nd Rabi II. 1148, aged nearly sixty. Mihr-Parwar, or Mihr-un-nissa Begam, died at the same place on 10th January, 1744, aged over eighty years. Arslan Khan Kashghari (Chaghtai Khan Fath Jang) was her sister's son (he died 4 Shaban 1121 H. *T-i-Mhdi*) and his death-notice shows him to have been the son of Shah Khan, son of Sayyid Abdullah Khan Chengazi Kashghari. [K. K. 629, Mirza Md., *T-i-Mdi.*]

Kh. Kh. (ii. 334) mentions a Rani Chattar Bai as one of Shah Alam's wives (*zauja*) in 1097, when he fell under Alamgir's displeasure.

Miftah (299) says, Jahandar Shah's mother was Nizam Bai [which wife of Bahadur Shah was this?]

One wife, married before 1081 H. (1670-'1) was Nur-un-nissa Begam, the daughter of Sanjar Khan Najm Sani ; she was the mother of Rafi-ul-qadr (*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 106-'7, Khafi Khan ii. 330) and exercised great influence over her husband. Another wife was the daughter of Rup Singh Rathor ; she was the mother of Daulat-Afza and Mhd. Azim (*M. A.*, pp. 49, 93).

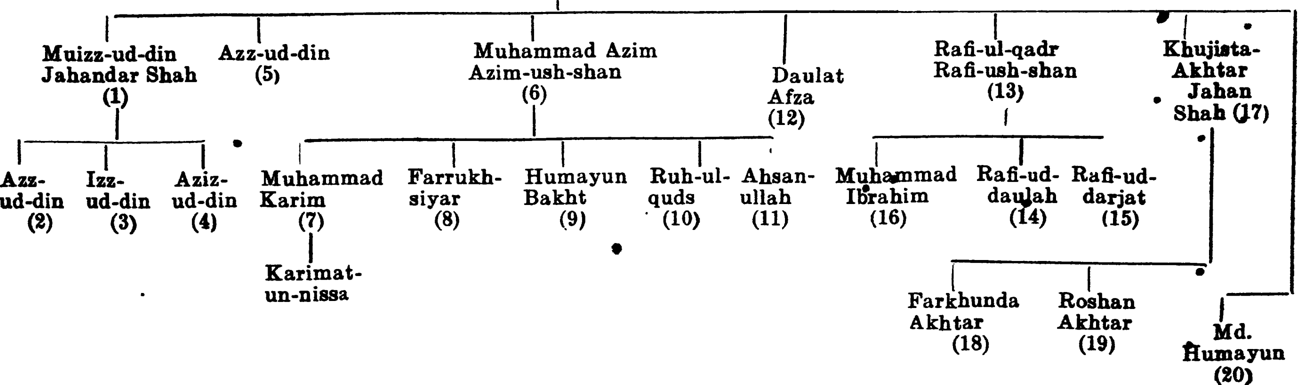
This marriage took place in 1071 H. (K. K. ii. 128). Rup S. Rajah of Kishangarh took the side of Dara Shukoh and was killed at Samugarh in 1068 (*Masir-ul-umara*, ii. 268).

Nur-un-nissa. Manucci Part iv. p. 3 says she died in Kabul in Feb. 1701. Shah Alam's wives: Khafi Khan ii. 333, 334. Mir-un-nissa Begam; Shakir (Shakir Kh.) her brother.

In the autumn season (1112 H., 1700 A.D.) Shah Alam came to Atak,—a bridge was built for him with the help of Khush-hal Kh. Khatak etc., crossed to the Afghan side. He halted two days at Khairabad (opposite Atak), then camped at Sarai, and afterwards moved to Naushara. While the Prince was at Khairabad, Amat-ul-habib, a Kafiri slave-girl in his harem, presented the Prince with a son. She was one of three Kafiri slave-girls sent to Alamgir by Allahdad Khweshgi, *faujdar* of Langar Kot. Two of them died, and the third was presented to Shah Alam in order to spite the latter's wife, the mother of Rafi-ush-shan. (H. G. Raverty *Notes on Afghanistan*, 1880, p. 445 and note). For more about Amat-ul-habib, and Mihr-Parwar's jealousy of her, see *Masir-ul-umara*, iii. 780 (*sub voce* Mutahavvar Kh. B. Khweshgi).

The following table shows the sons and other descendants of Bahadur Shah who were either alive at his death in Muharram 1124 or had predeceased him.

MUHAMMAD MUAZZAM
OR
SHAH ALAM, BAHADUR SHAH, B. 1053,.D. 1124.



Note. (15) Yahya Khan (108b) calls him Rafi-ud-din.

Note. (17) had another son, Mubarik Akhtar (Achhe Khan) Khush-hal Chand 383*b*. Ashob (B. M. *Or. 1832, fol* 36*a*) calls him Buland Akhtar (Achh Sahib). Gentil MS. (Orme Collection) says he left a daughter, Uruz Baru Begam.

NOTES AND REMARKS ON ABOVE TABLE.

(1), (2), (3) and (4) Jahandar Shah was born on the 10th Ramzan 1071 [*A. N.* 614.] Further particulars of this Prince and his children will be given when we come to his death in 1125 H.

(5) This *Azz-ud-din* (son of Bahadur Shah) was born in Zul Qada 1074 (*Masir-i-Alamgiri,* 48) and as we hear no more of him, it must be presumed that he died in infancy.

(6) *Azim-ush-shan* was born on the 26th Jamadi I. 1075 (16 Dec. 1664). His mother was the daughter of Rup Singh Rathor, (*Masir-i-Alamgiri,* 49 and *M. U.* ii. 270). He was drowned in the Ravi on the 9th Safar 1124, as will be hereafter related. His first wife was the daughter of Kirat Singh and the marriage took place in 1089 H. (*Masir-i-A* 167). Kirat Singh (d. 1084 H.) was a son of Rajah Jai Singh (I.) Kachhwaha of Amber. (*T-i-Mhdi* and *M. U.* iii. 156). The lady's name was Bai Jas Kuar. She died at Dihli on the 21 Rabi II. 1133 H. (*T-i-Mhdi*) and was buried at the Qutb (Kamwar Khan, 249). She was the mother of Mhd. Karim (*Masir-i-A* 181). Another of this Prince's wives was Aisha Begam, daughter of Ruhullah Khan Yazdi, the Mir Bakhshi ; the marriage took place in the 33rd year of Alamgir (1100-1 H.). She was the mother of Humayun Bakht and Ruh-ul-quds (Nos. 9 and 10.) The Prince is said to have been very fond of her. She gave birth to twins, a girl and a boy, on the 14th Rabi I. 1121, and died on the 7th Jamadi I. 1121, and was buried on the hill at Daulatabad, near the tomb of the saint Burhan-ud-din. [Kamwar.] Shortly after the death of Aisha Begam the Prince was married [Kamwar] to his cousin, Giti Ara Begam, daughter of the late Azam Shah ; she died on the 20th Ramzan 1136, being then over forty years of age. (*T-i-Mdi.*) There was also another wife, a Kashmiri woman, the mother of Farrukh-siyar. She had a brother, Khwaja Inayatullah, entitled Shaista Khan. (Died early Rajab 1141. *T-i-Mhdi.*)

(7) *Muhammad Karim.* He was born in Ramzan 1090, his mother being the daughter of Kirat Singh (*M. A.* 67 and 181). He was married on the 19th Ramzan 1121 to a daughter of Prince Kam Bakhsh (Kamwar Khan). A previous wife, Maryam

Banu, died on the 14 Safar 1121, on the march between Hajipur and Anjapur in the Dakhin. Muhammad Karim was seized at Lahor and executed by Jahandar Shah's orders in the end of Safar 1124. He left one daughter Karimat-un-nissa, who died on the 9th Muharram 1139 at Dihli, aged under 20 years. (*T-i-Mhdi.*)

(8) *Farrukh-siyar* will be dealt with when we come to his reign.

(9) *Humayun Bakht.* The year of his birth is not specified, but it must have been before 1117, for he died in prison at Dihli on the 27th Rajab 1157, being then over forty years of age (*Tarikh-i-Mhdi*). His mother was Aisha Begam daughter of Ruhullah Kh. I. (Warid 150*b*). He was blinded by the order of the Emperor Farrukh-siyar, his own brother, at the instigation, it is said, of the favourite, Mir Jumla. (Warid, p. 131). Khafi Khan (ii. 740) describes him as not more than ten or eleven years old in 1126 H. when he was blinded. But his first *mansab* of 8,000 (3,000 horse) was given him by Bahadur Shah on the 21st Rabi II. 1120 (*Bahadur*, 123) and he was then most probably 11 or 12 years of age, being the age at which a *mansab* was generally conferred on a Prince. Under 1130 H. Mirza Mhd. has an entry which contradicts that of 1157 H. and I am unable to reconcile them unless it be that there is a mistake of name in one or the other,—"1130 H., Prince Mhd. Humayun Bakht, son of Shah Azim-ush-shan Bahadur, son of Shah Alam, died in the day of the 3rd Rabi II. or during the night of the 4th, age 16 years."

(10) *Ruh-ul-quds.* This Prince was born in the year 1107 and his mother was the daughter of Ruhullah Khan. (*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 373). As we hear no more of him he probably died in infancy.

(11) *Ahsanullah.* He died at the age of ten months on the 5 Rabi 1122 (Kamwar Khan).

(12) *Daulat-Afza.* He was born in 1080 (*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 93) and died in 1099 at Bijapur, (*ibid*, 314). His mother was the daughter of Rup Singh Rathor, (*ibid*, 93).

(13) *Rafi-ul-qadr.* He was born in Rajab or Shaban 1081, his mother being Nur-un-nissa Begam, the daughter of Sanjar

Khan Najm Sani (*Masir-i-Alamgiri* 106-'7). He was killed at Lahor in the battle that he fought against his brother Jahandar Shah on the 21st Safar 1124 (*T-i-Mhdi*). The story will be told in detail later. One of his wives was Raziya-un-nissa, daughter of Prince Akbar, fourth son of Alamgir (Khush-hal Chand 339*b*, *M. A*. 484). The marriage took place at Agra, where Prince Akbar's family were in captivity. (Yahya Khan 108*b*.)

(14) *Rafi-ud-daulah*. Born about 1110 H., died 4th Zul Qada 1131 (Kamwar Khan). His reign will follow that of his brother Rafi-ud-darjat.

(15) *Rafi-ud-darjat*. Born Jamadi II. 1111, his mother being Nur-un-nissa, the daughter of Shaikh Baqi (*Tarikh-i-Aftab-nama*). He died 24th Rajab 1131 (Kamwar Khan). An account of his reign will follow that of Farrukh-siyar.

(16) *Sultan Ibrahim*. He was raised to the throne by Sayyid Abdullah Khan on the 15th October 1720, with the title of Shah Jahan Sani (II), as will be more particularly related hereafter. He died in prison at Dihli on the 8th Muharram 1159, at or about the age of fifty years (*T-i-Mhdi*).

(17) *Jahan Shah* was born on 22nd Jamadi II. 1084 (*M. A*. 128). He was killed near Lahor on the 21st Safar 1124 when fighting against his brother, Jahandar Shah. One of his wives was Zakiyat-un-nissa, daughter of Prince Akbar, fourth son of Alamgir ; he was married to her at Agra at the same time as his brother Rafi-ul-qadr was married to her sister (Yahya Khan 108*b*) ; another was Fakhr-un-nissa Begam, the mother of Roshan Akhtar, afterwards Emperor under the title of Muhammad Shah. She was said to be a descendant of Sharih Qazi ; she died on the 2nd Zul Hijja 1145, aged about 60 years. (*T-i-Mhdi*). Another wife or concubine was Nek Munzir, who died at Dihli on the 14th Rabi I. 1157 (*ibid*).

(18) *Farkhunda Akhtar*. The date of his birth is not recorded. He was killed at the same time as his father on the 21st Safar 1124.

(19) *Roshan Akhtar*. This Prince ascended the throne under the title of Muhammad Shah, and he will be treated of separately when we arrive at his reign.

(20) *Muhammad Humayun* was born in Zul Hijja 1088

(*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 157), but as we hear no more of him, it is to be presumed that he died in infancy.

A daughter of Bahadur Shah, named Dahr Afroz Banu Begam, died on the 8th Ramzan 1114 (25th Jan. 1703) in Kabul. She was said to have been forty years of age (*Ti-Mhdi*).

SEC. 28.—THE DUTCH EMBASSY 1712—1713.

From 1616 the Dutch East India Company had been established as traders at Surat in the province of Gujarat, with stations subordinate thereto at Ahmadabad, Baroda and Agra, and in 1710 it was decided to send an embassy from that place to obtain certain concessions from Bahadur Shah.* Cornelis Bezuyen, the first person designted as envoy, died at Surat on the 18th October, 1710, and it was not till the following year that he was replaced as head of the proposed embassy by Johan Josua Ketelaar,† the Company's director of trade at Surat. He arrived at Sarai Khan Khanan a few miles from Lahor, the Court being then at that city, on the 10th December, 1711. That day Donna Juliana Dias da Costa, a Portuguese lady holding a position of trust in the harem, sent them some presents and the Emperor's French physician, M. Martin, with thirty Christians of various nationalities came out to greet them. On the 13th a noble, Khadim Beg Khan, at the head of 500 cavalry and 500 infantry, arrived as escort. He had an elephant with him, and also displayed four large and many small flags of white and green silk and four green silk standards, embroidered with gold. A deputation was sent out to meet him, in order to bring him to the envoy, and then to escort him to his tent outside the sarai. An Armenian bishop and some Jesuit fathers, who were in the imperial camp, were also among the visitors.

* The following account is from a diary kept by Ernst Coenraad Graaf, first sworn clerk to the embassy.

† Dr. G. A. Grierson informs me that in *Miscellanea Orientalia*, published by David Millins in 1743, there is a Hindustani grammar by J. J. Ketelaer "societatis Indicae orientalis ad magnum mogulem quondam Legatus." It is there said that he *lived* at Agra, which seems a mistake.

On the 4th December a state entry was made. First came the introducer's elephant covered with a green trapping edged with red cloth bearing his standard of green and white silk and surrounded by men carrying small green and white flags fastened to rockets. Next was a large elephant intended for presentation to the Emperor. It was covered with gold brocade. Other elephants, with green and red cloths, followed in a row, each bearing a grenadier. Behind them rode the head elephant-man on horseback, Then came four great flags of the Company and forty small ones attached to rockets, followed by a man with kettle-drums on horseback, nine horses with rich gold and silver caparisons, for presentation to the Emperor, the master of the horse, and two trumpeters. Ensign Godlieb on horseback led six grenadiers, two and two, on horseback. Then came the submerchant, the secretary, the first clerk and his assistant, a sergeant and the subsurgeon, all on horseback. Next were two led horses attended by four silver stick-bearers, and the envoy's footmen and fusiliers. Here followed the envoy in a *palki,* accompanied by the introducers and M. Martin, also in *palkis* ; then the first and second assistant envoys Rogier Beerendard and Dirk Huisinkveld, in *palkis,* preceded each by a led horse and surrounded by footmen and fusiliers. Close behind was a four-wheeled carriage of Dutch make, brought from Surat, bearing the Armenian Bishop and the Jesuits. In another similar coach rode the chief surgeon, H. Eppendorf, and after it were four native carriages (*raths*?), covered with red and green, carrying the rest of the clerks and soldiers. The procession was closed by a corporal on horseback, a loaded camel, a camel with kettle-drums and, last of all, the master of the camels on horseback.

Altogether it was a brave show, and evidently there was much eagerness to see the strangers. About two miles from Lahor they met a four-wheeled carriage covered with red silk curtains and they were told that it contained Donna Juliana and four of the principal women of the harem. They had been sent out by Bahadur Shah to bring him an account of the procession. The three agents, or *wakils,* employed by the Dutch Company to watch their interests at Court, now appeared. One

rode an elephant bearing a green and white silk banner, the other two were in *palkis*. Many horsemen and armed servants surrounded them. When they saw the envoy they alighted and came on foot to greet him, presenting several gold coins and Rupees, which he touched and remitted. They then re-mounted and took the head of the procession. At three o'clock they drew near their tents which were pitched in good order near the Emperor's artillery, and here several noblemen received them.

Donna Juliana sent word that the Emperor would admit the envoy and all the Europeans to audience as soon as he pleased. Inayatullah Khan, Wazarat Khan, and Islam Khan had received orders to forward the negotiations. Khadim Beg Khan had been appointed as introducer. As the presents were not unpacked the audience was postponed and on the 16th and 17th December they moved their camp into two walled gardens, not far distant, in order to avoid the effluvium prevailing at their first station. On the 20th Donna Juliana with some ladies of the Court visited them and inspected the presents. She had been preceded by a dinner of fifty dishes from the Emperor's table, and after dinner she scented them with essence of roses and other rich perfumeries and presented betel covered with gold and silver leaf. On the 21st a dinner was sent on a small but massive golden table, having in the centre a large vessel for vegetables, and all round it holes containing small dishes filled with delicate food, such as were prepared for the Emperor himself. So far all seemed propitious, Zulfiqar Khan being known to be favourable. The only doubt was as to Azim-ush-shan and one or two nobles who hated Christians. It was believed, however, that Azim-ush-shan's goodwill could be brought.

On the 26th December the presents wrapped in red cloth were sent in charge of two Dutchmen and the native *wakils* to the Emperor's tents and made over to Khadim Beg Khan. The assistants were detained all night as Bahadur Shah wished them to show and explain the presents one by one. The Emperor took them one by one into his own hands and showed himself much pleased. Intimation came from Donna Juliana

that the first audience was fixed for the next day, but the weather being bad a delay was accorded.

The audience took place at last on the 3rd January 1712. The envoy marched to the imperial enclosure in the same state as upon the day of his entry, through Muizz-ud-din's camp stretching for one *kos*, and then for two *kos* beyond through the imperial camp, which lay along the Ravi. In the afternoon they reached the tent that had been pitched for them, where Donna Juliana entertained them. At three o'clock they set out again and drew near to the screens in front of the Emperor's tents. They were surrounded by three lines of strong netting placed at a little distance from each other. At the gate they delivered up their firearms. The ambassador and his suite kept their swords and were allowed to advance as far as the enclosure in their *palkis* or on horseback. The clerks and soldiers followed on foot, as no wheeled vehicle was allowed to proceed further. The Emperor not having yet taken his seat, they were shown into the tent of Islam Khan, general of artillery, with whom they held a friendly conversation until the clang of drums and cymbals announced the arrival of the Emperor.

Re-entering their *palkis* they were carried as far as the screens (*kanats*), in which there were three gates. These screens were made of old carpet and the ground they enclosed was fully two miles in circumference. In the middle stood a very large tent of carpet wrought in silk, gold and silver. At the back was the throne raised on a platform of earth, about five feet in height, covered with very handsome carpets wrought in gold and surrounded by a silver railing at the distance of a hand's breath. From the middle gate to the large tent a road was marked out by small red silk flags and a lattice-work partition, the ground being covered with carpets. At the gate they were received by the introducer Khadim Beg Khan. It was ordered that all Europeans should be admitted. The introducer took the envoy's hand, and led him followed by his assistants to the position from which the nobles saluted the Emperor. He was taken past a first railing of wood, close to the silver railing and on the Emperor's left hand among the group of nobles, with his assistants a few steps behind him. The rest of the

Europeans were kept outside the wooden rail. The envoy presented his offering of gold coins and a gold box containing a letter from the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies. The assistants also presented their *nazars*. Islam Khan received that of the envoy ; those of the assistants were taken by Khadim Beg Khan and passed on to Islam Khan. They were shown to the Emperor, who accepted them.

Next, they were led on one side past the silver railings by Khadim Beg Khan to a place behind the throne, where the envoy put on a robe of honour of gold brocade over his European clothes and tied a turban round his hat. The assistants received dresses of silver brocade. Thus altered, they were conducted again before the Emperor and there made four bows, bending the body down, touching the ground with the right hand, and each time on rising bringing the hand up to the forehead. They were then taken close up to the silver railings, but just at that moment the Emperor rose and left accompanied by his two sons Jahandar Shah and Jahan Shah, who had been seated on his right hand on a somewhat lower level. Everybody then retired and the crowd was so great that there was a risk of being crushed. Outside the *kanats* they returned to their *palkis*, and reached home at nine o'clock at night.

Owing to the late hour of the audience, neither the elephants nor the horses had been presented. These were sent on the 4th January, but according to custom sent back again, the object being to ensure that everybody should notice the valuable nature of the present. In the afternoon an officer arrived with a complete dinner prepared after the Mughal fashion, and half an hour later another with apples, pears, pomegranates, oranges and other fruits. These favours were acknowledged by three bows, or *salams*, made with the face turned towards the imperial quarters. Even the Emperor's wives and sons were required to observe this ceremonial. The men who carried the gifts were regaled with betel leaves, *attar* of roses, and received a considerable sum of money. An omission of these gifts might be fatal, for the Emperor was in the habit of enquiring what had been given and thereby gauging the value set upon his presents. On the 5th the envoy went to audience taking

the nine elephants and nine horses. The horses were accepted, but there was no time before the night fell to present the elephants. The envoy received a gift of a dagger studded with fine stones which he stuck into his sword belt and acknowledged by three low bows.

On the 6th the elephants were paraded and accepted with great satisfaction, and the Emperor's wives, having taken a fancy to the European carriage, oxen were yoked on it, and it was sent to them with all its appurtenances. This gift gave rise to quarrels, but it was at last assigned by Bahadur Shah to his principal wife, Mihr-Parwar. The lady was so pleased with this new toy that she harnessed her eunuchs to it and made them draw her every day round the enclosure formed by the *kanats* or screens. She conferred robes of honour on the envoy and his assistants by way of thanks for the gift.

Presents were selected and sent to the four Princes with a view to propitiate them, and on Donna Juliana's advice some extra gifts were sent to Prince Azim-ush-shan, who had charge of the imperial seal and was besides held to be of an avaricious nature. A part of the presents were received graciously and the rest returned. On the 12th presents were sent to Zulfiqar Khan, whose father, Asad Khan, is called "the Company's faithful friend"; and three days later others were sent to Inayatullah Khan, who is described as "provisional chancellor" meaning Wazir, and a great favourite of Azim-ush-shan. Inayatullah Khan took three pairs of spectacles, and returned the other things with assurance of his friendly feelings.

A few days afterwards, on the 18th January, a visit was paid to Zulfiqar Khan. The envoy and his assistants having been asked to sit down, Mr. Ketelaar paid his host a few compliments "in the Hindu language", and hoped that he would favour the Company's interests at Court, as they always recollected the friendship shown to them by his father, Asad Khan, when chief minister. The Khan said he would try to aid them and doubted not that they would succeed, but he objected to the erection of a new factory outside Surat. The envoy was very anxious to hear the grounds of his objection, but could not continue the interview, as the etiquette of the Court forbids

a long stay or much talk upon a first visit. Zulfiqar Khan, pleased at their allusion to his father, asked if they had called upon him on their way through Dihli, but they explained that it having been the month of fasting, during which no visits are received, they had been unable to pay their respects. In conclusion they asked for an order to the governor of Surat allowing the transfer of the other presents sent from Batavia. The order was made out and after sealing was handed over. No dresses of honour were given openly ; they were to be forwarded afterwards.

On the 24th January the envoy appeared again before the throne and received a gold ornament with pearl tassels for the dagger already given to him. Bahadur Shah asked that the Dutch musicians might be sent to perform. Three men were accordingly sent at night and played on the violin, harp and hautboy before His Majesty and his queens who were seated behind a screen. In return the envoy was invited to an inspection of the Shalimar garden, of which he gives a description, and a few days afterwards he visited the *Pari Mahal* or 'nymphs' palace' in the town, where in a large gallery he saw an artificial alabaster image representing Our Saviour surrounded by angels. A visit to the eldest Prince Jahandar Shah followed, and he also asked for the musicians to be sent to him and witnessed the manoeuvres of the Dutch soldiers commanded by Ensign Nythart. After this the envoy fell ill, and on the 16th February Bahadur Shah sent to enquire for him. On the 21st Mr. Ketelaar reappeared at darbar. He was so well received that he thought his affairs wore a most promising aspect and that they would be able "to leave that unhealthy climate" and return to Surat. On the 27th they learnt that in spite of Azim-ush-shan's opposition the first request of the Company had been granted and the order signed and sealed by the diwan Wazarat Khan and the other officials. The other demands were agreed to, and His Majesty had ordered their reduction to writing without delay.

These fond hopes of a speedy and successful return were dissipated in a moment. That very night the Emperor fell ill and was not expected to recover, the Princes set their troops

in motion and the roads to Lahor were rendered impassable by crowds of fugitives and their baggage. Bahadur Shah died on the 28th as they learnt from a friend at Court, and on the 29th Donna Juliana wrote advising them to take precautions against plundering. Thereupon they walled up the gate of one garden to which they transferred all the Company's goods, going in and out by the gate of the adjacent garden. Two hundred natives were enlisted as a guard.

Although by strict chronological order the conclusion of the envoy's story should appear in the next chapter, it seems better to make no break but carry it on to its conclusion. During the contest for the crown, the details of which we shall soon come to, no notice was taken either of the ambassadors or of the Company's affairs, much time was thus lost and much expense incurred. Nor were their persons and property altogether safe. To add to the difficulties of the position Jahandar Shah called upon them for military aid. After much consultation together this was refused, the chief plea being the ill-health of M. Ketelaar. Jahandar Shah accepted the excuses, and advised the Dutchmen to remove into the city so that they might evade similar demands from the other competitors for the throne. They rented three *katras*, or walled enclosures, in Lahor and succeeded in removing their baggage thither without loss, although the country was now swarming with plunderers.

It was not until the 1st April that negotiations could be reopened. The envoy paid a visit to Zulfiqar Khan, now Wazir, from whom he received promises of earnest support. The next day, to save the excessive house-rent, they returned to the walled gardens outside the town. The Emperor's audience was attended on the 7th and 10th. A petition was then sent in praying for the confirmation of what had been already granted by Bahadur Shah, the father of the new Emperor. This prayer was granted. On the 14th April Jahandar Shah passed their garden on his way from the mosque and received their gift or *nazar* in passing, and on the 25th the same was done to Lal Kunwar (Jahandar Shah's concubine, who is styled "the Empress"). The same ceremony was performed for both Jahandar Shah and Lal Kunwar, on their return from hunting.

In a few days they were assured by Zulfiqar Khan that all the documents were ready, and signatures only were wanting.

On the 10th May Jahandar Shah left Lahor on his march to Dihli. There the envoy attended the first public audience, which took place on the 10th July. They were much struck with the peacock and other thrones, of which the Diary gives a full description. They were at darbar again on the 11th August. They were now buoyed up with hopes of an early departure, and hearing that the documents were signed, enquiry was made from Zulfiqar Khan, who sent word on the 15th that the Emperor had consented to their going. But, as the matter-of-fact Dutchmen soon found, "these were only words," and in spite of the daily presents sent to the subordinates of the minister delay after delay took place. At length five *farmans* were made ready in legal form and their early transmission was promised. On the 31st August the final presents were ordered ; a *farman* addressed to Abraham van Riebeek, Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies, put up like all the others in a bag of gold cloth, accompanied by a dagger studded with rubies, a dress of honour, a piece of velvet, a stomacher of diamonds and other stones, set in gold, and fifty *tolas* of *attar* of roses. Eighty dresses of honour were subsequently added. For the envoy were sent a horse and gold trappings, a dress of honour, a dagger and a *kalghi* or plume studded with diamonds. The two assistants received each a dress and a dagger. At this juncture M. Martin the French physician raised some trouble by some story about a house in Surat known as Itibar Khan's, but his plots were exposed by Donna Juliana, and on the 21st September as a punishment the Frenchman's *mansab* was reduced one half by Zulfiqar Khan.

On the 11th September the *attar* of roses was delivered, and at the audience of the 19th the gifts for the Governor-General were made over to the envoy. On the 22nd the audience of leave-taking took place and the usual dresses and the presents were conferred. The horse given to Mr. Ketelaar was a piebald valued by the courtiers at 1200 rix-dollars, but F. Valentyn, who saw it afterwards at Batavia, in the square before the castle, found in him "no particular virtue, having often seen superior

to it at the price of 100 rix-dollars." Not an infrequent state of things in regard to darbar presents! On the 25th September they bade farewell to Zulfiqar Khan, and the envoy gave him a short letter in Persian thanking him for his favours, saying a few words in Hindustani, to which Mr. Beerenaard added a speech in Persian. Zulfiqar Khan promised to continue his favour towards them. Three days afterwards they saw the old Nawab, Asad Khan, and received from him promises of aid on all occasions. He was carried through his garden in a curious portable chair adorned with gold borne by four women.

Having received on the 29th September a *hasb-ul-hukm* directing the new governor of Surat, Mahmud Beg Khan, to restore to the Company the house of Itibar Khan and a new sealed *farman* for Ahmadabad, a few more farewell visits were paid; on the 1st October to Khan Jahan Kokaltash, on the 3rd to Sadullah Khan Mutaqid, the *Khan-saman*, and to Raza Quli (Shafat) Khan, general of artillery, on the 6th to Rajah Sabha Chand, diwan of Zulfiqar Khan, and to Khadim Beg Khan. On the 7th they went to the palace to take farewell of the Empress; they made four low bows (*salam*) before a window where she was. On the 9th they said good-bye to their friend Donna Juliana, and left the same day for Barahpula. On the 13th October they received the last of the documents and made ready for a start.

They started on the 14th, and reached Agra on the 20th October, 1712. Their stages were Faridabad, Palwal, Hodal, a sarai at "Tojalla", one *kos* from Mathura, a sarai at "Gosia Attebar Chan", and a sarai at Gaughat. The road was much infested by robbers. From Agra they returned to Surat. After exertions extending over one year and a great expenditure concessions of value had been obtained. Besides the heavy cost of the presents, the envoy's expenses amounted, it is said, to 30,000 guilders. The return presents were estimated to be worth 5500 rix-dollars. Yet, in the end, the whole of this expenditure was thrown away. Before the close of 1712 Farrukh-siyar had defeated Jahandar Shah, and the dead bodies of that luckless sovereign and of his Prime Minister were paraded through the streets of Dihli. After that revolution Jahandar

Shah's *farmans* were so much waste paper, and his reign was blotted out from the records of the Empire.

CHAPTER II

THE INTERREGNUM, 1712.

SEC. 1.—THE CONDITION OF THE PRINCES AT BAHADUR SHAH'S DEATH.

By Bahadur Shah's death on the 20th Muharram 1124 H. (27th February, 1712) the whole camp was thrown into confusion. The Emperor had barely breathed his last, before his sons were ranged against each other in contest for Empire, an event which was far from unexpected. In order to make the narrative of events quite clear, it is necessary to go back a little and explain the position in which the four brothers stood to each other. Azim-ush-shan, the second son, had been far away from his father for the last ten years of his grandfather Alamgir's reign. In 1109 H. (1697-8) he was appointed governor of Bengal, to which was added Bihar in the year 1114 H. (1702-3). He did not see his father again until they met at Agra in 1119 H. (1707) just before the battle at Jajau and the defeat of Azam Shah. During these ten or twelve years, Jahandar Shah, the eldest son, from his inattention to public affairs, lost favour with his father and spent most of his time in his separate Government of Multan. In the earlier years of Shah Alam's stay in the Kabul province, his third son, Rafi-ush-shan, was his principal adviser and favourite son. In time he was supplanted in this position by the fourth son, Jahan Shah, who retained his influence at his father's accession and for some time afterwards. The credit of Munim Khan's appointment as chief minister is given to Jahan Shah. But about the time (December 1709) when the Emperor recrossed the Narmada on his return to Hindustan, all influence seems to have been absorbed by the second son, Azim-ush-shan. Jahan Shah had several long illnesses (4th—28th December, 1709, 30th July—5th October 1711), and ill-health may have contributed to his gradual exclusion from public affairs. At any rate, Azim-ush-shan continued in favour to the end of the reign. The great wealth that he had accumulated, both during his stay in Bengal and after he had obtained the chief direction of affairs, and the

preponderating influence that he had exercised for a considerable period, while they raised his brothers envy, pointed him out to all men as the destined victor in the coming struggle. [Ijad, 32*b* ; Scott, ii. Pt. iv. 45.]

The conduct of the four brothers betokened that they were at enmity ; that there could be little hope of a peaceful solution. Their dread of each other was shown in many ways, among others by an incident related by Iradat Khan.* During the Emperor's last illness, Jahandar Shah and Azim-ush-shan were seated near his bed. Azim-ush-shan took up a jewelled dagger lying near the pillow and began to toy with it, admiring the exquisite workmanship and the beauty of the blade. As he drew it from the sheath, Jahandar Shah, overcome with sudden terror, started up, and in his hurried retreat knocked off his turban at the tent-door, forgot to put on his shoes (a sign of great perturbation),† and, when he got outside, fell over the tent-ropes. As soon as his servants had picked him up, he mounted and rode off in all haste to his own tents. On a previous occassion a violent outbreak had been expected. On the 24th Rabi I. 1123 H. (11th May 1711), the day on which the Satlaj was crossed, Jahandar Shah and Jahan Shah went over the bridge of boats first and took up a threatening position upon the further bank. Messengers brought word that those two Princes and Rafi-ush-shan had made a plot together to attack the treasure carts of Azim-ush-shan as they were coming off the bridge. It was only by the exercise of the strongest pressure that the Emperor, who was extremely angry, was able to avert an outbreak. Another indication of the same strained relations between the four brothers

* J. Scott, 64; Ijad 120 *b*, 121 *a*.

† For instance on an occasion of great emergency, one of Ali Wirdi Khan's slippers could not be found and he refused to move till it was brought. A bystander said, 'Is this a time to look for slippers?' 'No,' replied the nawab, 'but were I to go without them it would be said, 'Ali Wirdi Khan was in such a hurry to get away that he left his slippers behind him' (Stewart, *Bengal*, 462, note). I heard once a sharp Benares mukhtar apply this taunt most effectively to a barefooted litigant at a local enquiry, to the huge delight of the bystanders.

may, I think, be detected in a sudden attack made upon Jahan Shah on the 15th Zul Hijja 1123 H. (23rd January 1712) near the kettle-drum stand, as he was leaving the camp after an audience. A man with a drawn sword rushed at his retinue, wounded a stick-bearer, and was himself cut to pieces. [Kamwar, 70, 100.]

Jahandar Shah had no money and therefore no troops: his whole force consisted of a hundred horsemen. Against Azim-ush-shan he felt that, under such conditions, it was hopeless to attempt hostilities; and he would have been content with, nay would have thought himself lucky in getting, one city only. He had made up his mind that on his father's death he would make his escape to Multan, where he was well known, and there make ready for an attempt to retrieve his fortunes. All the leading men paid assiduous court to Azim-ush-shan. Among the rest Zulfiqar Khan, Amir-ul-umara, the first *Bakhshi*, made an offer of his services through the means of Iradat Khan. One Shaikh Qudrat-ullah* wrote a note in reply, of a very curt and unceremonious kind, such as a person of his rank should not have written to a *mansabdar* of 7,000, saying that all the officers of the State were in attendance at the Prince's Court, there could be no question of any other place, and the Amir-ul-umara ought to present himself there, when he would be fittingly received. Zulfiqar Khan, with tears in his eyes, lamented over such mannerless conduct, and quoted the saying 'when Fortune turns against any one, everything conspires against his success.' He left the imperial guard-room at once, collected his troops, and moved with all his tents and effects to the camp of Prince Jahandar Shah, the eldest son.†

But Zulfiqar Khan had not been so imprudent as to leave his own fate completely in the hands of Azim-ush-shan. For a long time he had been negotiating with the three Princes opposed to Azim-ush-shan, and had succeeded in bringing them to an agreement. The Court chroniclers noticed, as the outward

* A native of Allahabad. He was hanged by Mir Jumla early in Farrukh-siyar's reign.

† Warid, 60, 61; Yahya Khan, 117*b*; J. Scott, 65; or text (my copy) 68.

sign of these intrigues, that on the 25th Zul Hijja 1123 H. (2nd February, 1712) Rafi-ush-shan and on the 1st Muharram 1124 H. (8th February, 1712) Jahandar Shah visited the quarters of Zulfiqar Khan. As Azim-ush-shan's power was held to be overwhelming, it was considered wise by Zulfiqar Khan, acting for Jahandar Shah, to make overtures for joint action to the two younger brothers. Accordingly an agreement sworn on the Quran was entered into for the division of the Empire into three parts. Jahandar Shah, as the eldest son, would be proclaimed Emperor of Hindustan, the Friday prayer being recited everywhere in his name, and the coinage throughout the country bearing his superscription. Rafi-ush-shan was to take Kabul, Kashmir, Multan, Tattha and Bhakkar, and Jahan Shah, the Dakhin from the Narmada to the island of Ceylon. Any cash or plunder obtained by a victory over Azim-ush-shan was to be divided among the three Princes equally. The preposterous condition was also included in the agreement that Zulfiqar Khan should be the only *Wazir*, remaining in person with Jahandar Shah at Dihli and exercising his functions through deputies at the Courts of the other two Princes. A more impracticable plan can hardly be conceived, and possibly it was never seriously intended by Zulfiqar Khan that it should be carried out. Up to this time, owing to the notorious poverty of Jahandar Shah, adventurers and soldiers had kept aloof from him, but when his cause was espoused by Zulfiqar Khan, they began to flock to his standard.*

We have already recounted how Prince Rafi-ush-shan passed under arms the greater part of the night of the 18th

* Kamwar Khan, 101, 102; Warid, 59, 60; Mhd. Qasim Lahori, 45. Valentyn, iv. 294, estimates the numbers of the contending forces as follows :—

	Horse	Foot
Jahandar Shah	20,000	30,000
Rafi-ush-shan	8,000	8,000
Jahan Shah	25,000	30,000
	53,000	68,000
Azim-ush-shan	30,000	30,000

He can give no record of the numbers slain in the subsequent fighting.

Muharram 1124 H. (25th February 1712). In the morning the Prince slept late and was not yet awake when Kamwar Khan arrived at his house. Assembled there were the Prince's chief men, Afzal Khan, Fath-ullah Khan, Ata-ullah Khan, Jahangir Quli Khan and others, with their friends and relations. Camel-riders, one after another, came in with reports of the increasing severity of Bahadur Shah's illness. About noon Rafi-ush-shan left the mansion of Ali Mardan Khan, with his three sons and his family, and took shelter in a small tent put up for the occasion on the river sands. Kamwar Khan was posted, with all the Prince's men, at Katra Shah Balawal* to keep watch during the night. Munim Khan was despatched to the left, to the river bank, at the head of Prince Ibrahim's troops, while Fath-ullah Khan Mughal went out to the distance of a quarter of a *kos* as an advanced guard. The rest of the troops were drawn up to form a centre and two wings, and thus the night was spent in anxious expectation of the next news. [Kamwar, 104-5.]

In the morning Rafi-ush-shan learnt that his father had passed away at the first watch of the night, and that the imperial camp had fallen into the possession of Azim-ush-shan. A tumult had at once arisen, and without delay, dark though it was, the chief nobles had deserted their posts round the Emperor's quarters, and had hastened to join one or other of the Princes. A few men only, such as Islam Khan, the *Mir Atash*, Hamid-ud-din Khan, Darbar Khan and Khawas Khan, remained at their posts and prevented the plunder of the women's apartments. Many men of lower station and all the traders, who had their families in camp, started for the city, leading their women and children by the hand. Most of their property was at once plundered by the loose characters hanging about the army, who collected at the Shalimar garden, between the camp and the city, while the streets and lanes of Lahor were crowded with people who could find no house

* Shah Balawal Qadiri Lahori, died 28th Shaban 1046 H. (4th Feb. 1637), aged 70 years. His tomb outside the Dihli Gate of Lahor was threatened by the Ravi in 1252 H. (1836-7), when the body was exhumed and re-buried at a little distance. *Khazinat-ul-asfiya*, i. 161.

in which to obtain shelter. The camps of the four Princes were in an uproar. The great nobles looked forward to inevitable death before the sun had set, while the soldiers clamoured for their arrears. Every sort of oppression was inflicted upon the paymasters ; and whatever could be laid hands upon was carried off. Son could not help father, nor father, son ; every one was wrapped up in thoughts for his own safety. Among others Inayatullah Khan, *Khan-saman* or Lord Steward, fled to Lahor, and as soon as he had reached the city, made a pretext of being ill of a cold and thus avoided presenting himself at any of the four *darbars*.*

At early dawn spies brought in word that Prince Muhammad Karim, son of Azim-ush-shan, had started for the encampment of Mahabat Khan and Khan Zaman, sons of the late Munim Khan, Bahadur Shah's *Wazir*. The real objects of this movement had not been discovered by the other side. Naturally, it was supposed that Azim-ush-shan, having more treasure, men, elephants, and cannon than the other three Princes put together, and all the great nobles, with the exception of Zulfiqar Khan, having joined him, had taken the field at once, without allowing his opponents time to collect more troops. Zulfiqar Khan, as soon as he heard of this movement on Azim-ush-shan's part, revived the courage of his troops, who wished to retreat, by quoting the proverb, 'Never take off your stockings, till you see the ford.' Then he rode off with a small escort to Jahan Shah, who was near the tomb of Shah Mir,† and thence to the position of Prince Rafi-ush-shan near the Ravi. Azim-ush-shan had made overtures to Rafi-ush-shan, who had at first held back from taking one side or the other, then by the persuasion of Zulfiqar Khan had joined Jahandar Shah. But Zulfiqar Khan was still a little suspicious of him and therefore proposed that, as his force was small, he should take up his position as the rearguard. To this Rafi-ush-shan consented, and as soon as he knew that Muhammad

*Kamwar Khan, 105; Qasim, 43; Yahya Khan, 117 *a*.

† Shaikh Muhammad Mir called Shah Mir or Miyan Mir, died at Lahor, 7th Rabi I. 1045 H. (21st Aug. 1635), and was buried in Hashimpur near that city. Beale, 2nd ed., 304, and *Khazinat-ul-asfiya*, i. 154.

Karim had marched, he drew up on the bank of the Ravi, at the head of 5,000 to 6,000 horsemen, about a bow-shot from his camp, and awaited the other side's approach. In like manner, Jahandar Shah, accompanied by Zulfiqar Khan, left his camp between the city and the Shalimar gardens, where he had been ever since arriving at Lahor ; and Jahan Shah, mounting a swift gray horse, issued from his quarters near the tomb of Miyan Mir in readiness to give battle. [Kamwar 106, Nur. 23.]

One watch of the day had hardly passed when Azim-ush-shan's troops, after showing on a rising ground, disappeared from view. By the reports of the spies it became clear that Muhammad Karim had come out, not to give battle, but to rescue the sons of Munim Khan and some other nobles, who were escorted to Azim-ush-shan's camp. This movement was due to the fact that Rajah Gujar Mal and Jani Khan had been sent by Zulfiqar Khan to the tents of Mahabat Khan with the hope of persuading him to act as mediator between Azim-ush-shan and his three brothers, the object being to gain time. When Azim-ush-shan heard of this visit, he, suspecting that the sons of Munim Khan meant to desert him, sent his son to re-assure them, at the same time using the occasion to make a display of his own strength. The spies had also ascertained that Azim-ush-shan intended to shun a battle in the open, preferring to entrench himself. The preparation of earthen defences had been ordered and his purpose was to rely upon his artillery and musket fire. This news was most re-assuring to the three Princes, they returned joyfully to their camps, and ordered the enlistment of fresh troops.*

SEC. 2.—AZIM-USH-SHAN STANDS ON THE DEFENSIVE.

We will now return to Azim-ush-shan's camp. On the preceding night, when Amin-ud-din Sambhali brought word

* Kamwar Khan, 106; Nur-ud-din, 20, 24. Khafi Khan, ii. 686, says that Azim-ush-shan moved his position and transferred his camp to the vicinity of Budanah village, three or four *kos* from the city, where, having the Ravi in his rear, he dug a ditch round the other three sides. Faqir

that the Emperor had passed away, Azim-ush-shan first shed a few tears of sorrow at his father's death, then the drums were beaten in honour of a new sovereign's accession, and all the persons in attendance presented their congratulations and offerings. The Prince's advisers at once said to him that as Zulfiqar Khan was an open enemy, not a moment should be lost in making him a prisoner. Since he was at that time alone between the imperial audience tent and the outer enclosure, they could easily capture him. Niamatullah Khan and Aqidat Khan, in particular, insisted upon this order being given. From the first the Prince made objections, for he feared that the imperial family would at once be plundered. After all, what could Zulfiqar Khan do? Reliance must be placed on God's help alone. The leading men then ceased to urge the matter further, but said to each other, 'The Lord help and preserve us! the first words of invocation have been said wrong.'* On leaving the private audience-hall, Niamatullah Khan, disregarding the Prince's order, rushed off with a strong force, but before he could reach the spot, Zulfiqar Khan had left and gone to his own quarters, where he renewed his oaths to Jahandar Shah and by misleading promises persuaded the two younger Princes to make common cause with their eldest brother. [*Dastur-ul-insha,* 16.]

The next three days were passed by Zulfiqar Khan in negotiating with the Princes, rallying troops to their standard, and bringing artillery from the fort at Lahor. The former agreement between the Princes was renewed. Zulfiqar Khan visited Rafi-ush-shan and Jahan Shah, and urged them both to carry out their enthronement and assume regal honours and titles. When Zulfiqar Khan paid his visit to Prince Rafi-ush-shan, he used the most flattering words and placed his head on the Prince's feet. The Prince said to him, 'You place your head on my feet, lay rather your hand on my head, for have I not become an orphan?' and taking the hand of Zulfiqar

---

Sayyid Jamal-ud-din says that there is now no Budanah village there, and suggests instead Uwan, some miles n. e. of the Shalimar garden.

* *Bism-illah-i-avval ghalat shud.*

Khan, pressed it. Zulfiqar Khan made some appropriate reply and then left for his own camp.*

In two or three days' time a large force of soldiers, some of long service but most of them greedy mercenaries, had been collected, and the artillery had been strengthened by the guns removed from the city walls. Three of the very largest guns were removed from the fort, each being dragged by two hundred and fifty oxen aided by five or six elephants, and it was ten days before the distance to camp was covered. One of these was sent to Rafi-ush-shan and one to Jahan Shah. When everything was ready, the three Princes left their old positions and encamped close to each other in a wide and open plain. Azim-ush-shan all this time never left the shelter of his earthen entrenchments, but contented himself with the daily discharge of a gun or two. On their side, the three Princes advanced daily at the rate of about one-eighth of a *kos*, or one-third of a mile, encamping each evening on the ground where they stood, and keeping an active look-out for fear of a night attack. In these nightly halts many of the new troops left the army, and it almost looked as if Jahandar Shah would be forced to retreat without fighting. But Zulfiqar Khan and Abdus-samad Khan exerted themselves to keep the men together. At length, early in the month of Safar (1st Safar 1124 H.=9th March 1712), they pitched their camp not far from the entrenchment of Azim-ush-shan. For another two or three days, an artillery duel was maintained, and from time to time Azim-ush-shan's men made sallies and engaged the outposts of the attacking army. [Kamwar, 107 ; Nur. 28.]

On the other side, Mirza Shah Nawaz Khan Safawi urged Prince Azim-ush-shan to take the field and give battle in the

* Kamwar Khan, 107; Nur-ud-din, 26. There is a long letter, which I reject as apocryphal, in a work professing to be the *Insha* of Har Karan, son of Mathura Das Multani, and said to have been compiled in Mhd. Shah's reign (1131-1161 H.). In it Jahandar Shah expostulates with Azim-ush-shan, and ends with the defiance, *Dam az mihr dah, ya ba kin zan payam, Kalam-am bar in khatam shud o us-salam.* 'Breathe words of love, or send your challenge, My speech closes with this and so farewell.' According to the true *Inshae Har Karan* the letter, of which the above is an imitation, was addressed in 1068 H. by Aurangzeb to Dara Shukoh.

open. Daya Bahadur and others joined with him in his entreaties.* They believed that by one sudden onset they could drive the whole of the enemy's force away. The only answer they could obtain was 'wait a little longer.' After that they could say no more. Azim-ush-shan relied on the extent of his treasure ; he had also received pledges from Churaman Jat and the Banjara grain-carriers that his camp should not suffer from scarcity of grain. In his opponents' camp there was, as he thought, nothing but poverty, and their men must disperse or die from hunger. Moreover, he had an exalted opinion of his own abilities and an equally low one of his brothers' capacities. Muizz-ud-din had, doubtless, shown himself a good soldier in his grandfather's and father's time, but now want of means rendered him quite helpless. As for Rafi-ush-shan, he had the heart of a courtesan, devoting all his energy to the adornment of his person and the purchase of clothes and high-priced jewels, a man to whom the verse applied :

> Holding mirror and comb in hand,
> Like a pretty woman, he adores his own curls.†

Then as for Jahan Shah, his conceit was such that he thought his very name enough to put an enemy to flight. For all these reasons he thought that the longer he delayed, the greater would be his advantage. Nor was he at all liberal in the distribution of money to his soldiers, his miserliness being proverbial. It was a saying that the coldest place to be found was Azim-ush-shan's kitchen. To every report that was made his only reply was the unchanging *andak bashid,* 'Wait a little longer.' When they saw this state of things, his followers were much dejected and made sure that Heaven did not favour their cause.‡

On the 6th Safar (14th March 1712) the three Princes were

---

* The *Dastur-ul-insha,* 17, also names Amin-ud-din, Niamatullah Khan, Nawab Aziz Khan, Rajah Muhkam Singh Khatri, Rajah Raj Singh Bahadur, Baz Khan and Umar Khan.

† *Aina o shana girifta ba dast, Chun zan-i-rana, shuda gesu-parast.*

‡ Nur-ud-din, 27; *Dastur-ul-insha,* 17; Mhd. Qasim Lahori, 47; Yahya Khan, 117*b*.

close to the entrenchment of Azim-ush-shan. On both sides, small groups of men came out and fought. In the course of two days, batteries for the guns were made ready through the exertions of Abdus-samad Khan, and by these batteries three sides of Azim-ush-shan's position were commanded. Abdus-samad Khan wished, if he could, to blow up Azim-ush-shan's powder magazine. But Sulaiman Khan Panni* was too much on the alert. One night, however, the besiegers found the sentinels asleep and entered the camp by climbing over one corner of the earthen wall. In the darkness they encountered the outposts of Shah Nawaz Khan Safawi, and were forced to return with their purpose unexecuted. [Nur. 28.]

The next day (7th Safar 1124 H.=15th March, 1712), the besieged began a cannon fire, which they kept up continuously for some time. Repeatedly Kokaltash Khan and Jani Khan, commanding on the side of the investors, were forced to abandon their batteries and seek shelter behind walls. But, from a battery on the north, Abdus-samad Khan returned shot for shot. However, when the attack on two sides of the entrenchment had been withdrawn, as above stated, Shah Nawaz Khan, without asking the Prince's leave, came out at the head of 2,000 cavalry. Abdus-samad Khan and Jani Khan opposed him. Just as those on Jahandar Shah's side were about to be defeated, Prince Jahan Shah arrived with reinforcements, and forced the other side to take to flight. The Prince himself received a slight wound on the arm, but Shah Nawaz Khan, while retreating, received two sword cuts in the back from Jani Khan and his horse's tail was cut off. Pursuing the fugitives, Jahan Shah arrived at the walls of the earth-work. Thereupon Sulaiman Khan Panni, and his tribesmen, from their position on the walls shot arrows and fired off rockets. In another direction, Daya Bahadur offered a stout resistance and put many of Jahan Shah's men to flight. But Jahan Shah himself held his ground, nay continued to advance, shouting to the fugitives 'Are you men, if not, go home and put on women's apparel.' At this juncture, Mukhtar Khan threw himself

* Brother of Daud Khan Panni, *naib-subahdar* of the Dakhin.

bravely into the *melee* at the head of his most trusted followers. When he had fought his way close to Jahan Shah, he flung himself from his horse, and according to the ancient practice of Hindustan, continued the contest on foot, shooting his arrows and dealing blows about him with his sword. It was near to sunset when he forced his opponents to beat a retreat. Several men of note on Azim-ush-shan's side, such as Raza Khan and Karim Khan, were slain. [Nur. 29-31.]

When after night-fall Jahan Shah reached his quarters, Zulfiqar Khan came in person on the part of Jahandar Shah to congratulate him on the victory, and by his flattering speeches kept the Prince in good humour. He added that on the morrow it was his turn to take up the fighting and display his zeal for the cause. Next he visited Rafi-ush-shan, and talked to him in the same strain and impressed him so favourably, that he proposed to head the attack in person on the following day. Thence Zulfiqar Khan went to the camp of Jahandar Shah and laid before him other plans. At his suggestion, Jahandar Shah sent a message in very friendly terms to Prince Rafi-ush-shan asking him to give up his idea of heading an attack. Rafi-ush-shan returned his thanks but renewed his request, and very early in the morning (8th Safar) moved out at the head of 5,000 well-mounted cavalry, and boldly delivering his attack, forced a way to the foot of the entrenchment. The besieged replied with artillery fire and rockets, but repeated charges of Rafi-ush-shan's troops so demoralized many of them that they flung musket and rocket down and fled for shelter behind the wall. Then the men on Jahandar Shah's side mounted the wall and shot down their arrows on their foe within. They had almost succeeded in making their way into the entrenchment, when Sulaiman Khan Panni, followed by five hundred Afghans and two hundred of Shah Nawaz Khan's men, with Gul Khan at their head, arrived to reinforce the half-defeated defenders. Their arrows flew so thick and straight that the attacking party could not stand up against them but withdrew again from the top of the wall. Thereupon Sulaiman Khan followed in pursuit. [Nur. 33.]

On issuing from the entrenchment, Sulaiman Khan

advanced against the centre of Rafi-ush-shan's division. The fighting became general and both sides struggled bravely for victory. Zulfiqar Khan, at the head of 2,000 men belonging to Kokaltash Khan and Jani Khan, speeded to reinforce his own side, and without distinguishing friend from foe, ordered his bowmen to shoot off their arrows. If this help had not arrived, a disaster would have occurred to Rafi-ush-shan. The men who had dispersed re-assembled and resumed the offensive. Seven to eight thousand men, horse and foot, bore down on Sulaiman Khan and encircled him. Sulaiman Khan withstood the flood undismayed, and the fight waxed hot. In the thickest of the fray, an arrow hit Gul Khan in the throat and killed him, after which his men fell into disorder. Pressed back by repeated charges of Jahandar Shah's troops, Sulaiman Khan felt the day was lost, and turning his horse's head, he retreated into the entrenchment, where he resumed his fire from the shelter of the wall. The sky grew black with smoke. Many on both sides were killed or wounded. However, on Jahandar Shah's side no one of any note was injured, and when the sun had set, Rafi-ush-shan and Zulfiqar Khan returned in safety to their quarters. [Nur. 33, 35.]

After the first day's fighting, in which Abdus-samad Khan had penetrated into the entrenchment, but retreated without effecting his purpose, Shah Nawaz Khan hired several deft-handed Qalmaq slaves and sent them to assassinate Jahandar Shah. Evading the outposts, these men succeeded in penetrating at night as far as the tent occupied by the Prince. The eunuch on watch called out, 'Who is there, what do you want?' Their only reply was to cut him down and attempt to enter the tent. But a groan came from the dying eunuch and his falling body shook the ropes and sides of the tent. This untimely noise roused a Qalmaq woman servant of the harem, called Raiman, who was possessed of considerable strength. She ran out to see what was the matter. Observing the strangers she gave the alarm. The men retreated, pursued by Raiman, and one of them caught his foot in a tent-rope and fell. Raiman slew him with a dagger and was herself wounded slightly on the arm. Hearing the noise, sentinels ran from all directions but

the Qalmaqs mixed in the crowd and thus succeeded in escaping. After Jahandar Shah had obtained quiet possession of the throne, he conferred on Raiman the title of Rustam-i-Hind, a curious choice, giving as it did an opening for the scoffer to say that in India their only Rustam was a woman! [Nur. 35-36, Kamwar 108.]

On the third day of the fighting (8th Safar), the three Princes advanced together to the attack, beginning it with an artillery fire. Zulfiqar Khan took the direction of these operations. The cannon were posted on the mounds* formed of the debris left from brick-burning. The besieged were much harassed by the fire and many leaders quitted their posts and tried to escape. Finding the way closed by the besiegers they could only return within the entrenchment. Rajah Pirthi Raj Bundela,† by repeated attacks reduced the besieged to despair. Then Sulaiman Khan Panni, and Shah Nawaz Khan, with nearly 2,000 men of their own race, appeared on the northern wall, but there Abdus-samad Khan barred their exit. In another direction, where Pirthi Raj was closely threatening the entrenchment, Kesari Singh, brother of Muhkam Singh Khatri, made a sally and engaged his opponent hand to hand. Pirthi Raj was nearly overwhelmed, when Rafi-ush-shan detached to his aid Fath-ullah Khan and his Mughal horse. These men charged with drawn swords. Azim-ush-shan then sent out Daya Ram Nagar,‡ to reinforce Kesari Singh. While the contest was still undecided, Jahandar Shah arrived in person, and a rumour spreading that Azim-ush-shan intended to flee, his commanders, Sulaiman Khan, Shah Nawaz Khan, Kesari Singh and Daya Ram,

* For those not familiar with the north of India it may be necessary to explain that these mounds, thirty or forty feet high, are to be found outside every brick-built town.

† A son of R. Chattarsal Bundela.

‡ Called generally Daya Bahadur, a title given him in Bahadur Shah's 4th year (1710-11), when he returned to Court from the charge of Kora (subah Allahabad), where he was succeeded by his brother, Chabela Ram (B. M. No. 1690 *fol.* 156*a*). These men were styled *Mahta*, a word which means 'head' or 'chief,' and is ordinarily applied now to the richest or most important tenant in a village. The *Nagars* are a sub-division of the Brahman caste, and are chiefly found in Gujarat.

withdrew their men and returned to seek their master. Jahandar Shah and his two brothers proceeded in triumph to their previous encampment. [Nur. 37-38.]

SEC. 3.—DEFEAT AND DEATH OF AZIM-USH-SHAN.

After three days of indecisive fighting Zulfiqar Khan bethought himself of another device for weakening the enemy. On the night of Bahadur Shah's death he had sent out troops in three directions in order to prevent all escape by the ferries on the Ravi river, and had sent flattering promises and a note in Jahandar Shah's hand-writing to Mahabat Khan and the other sons of Munim Khan, the deceased Wazir. Many imperial commanders and soldiers were encamped in great discomfort on the sandy ground in the dry bed of the river, where they also suffered occasionally from cannon shot which fell in that direction. It occurred to Zulfiqar Khan that if his guards at the ferries were withdrawn, all these men would be only too glad to make their escape with their families. Accordingly this order was carried out during the night between the 8th and the 9th Safar. Many marched away to a place of safety, and many joined the standard of Jahandar Shah. The movement also extended itself to Azim-ush-shan's own adherents. Crowds of men during this night, on pretence of placing their families out of danger, made their escape from the earth-work. None of them were touched or hindered by the other side ; all were allowed to pursue their own way. Among the first who fled were Mahabat Khan and Khan Zaman Khan, sons of Munim Khan and Hamid-ud-din Khan Qul Alamgiri, all of whom crossed the Ravi during the hottest of the fighting. Sulaiman Khan Panni, Shah Nawaz Khan Safawi, Daya Ram Nagar, and Kesari Singh remained faithful and passed the night on the alert.*

When morning broke on the 9th Safar (17th March, 1712), the three Princes decided to bring the contest to a final issue. Zulfiqar Khan took command of the centre by the side of

* Kamwar 108; Warid, 62; Qasim, 49. B.M., 1690, *fol.* 158*b*, adds Sarafraz Khan to the fugitives. They took refuge in the Lahor Masjid.

Jahandar Shah; Abdus-samad Khan was put at the head of the vanguard; Kokaltash Khan was on the right and Jani Khan on the left wing. Jahan Shah supported the vanguard and Rafi-ush-shan commanded the rear. In this order they advanced towards the entrenchment of Azim-ush-shan. For six hours both sides maintained an artillery-fire, and Jahandar Shah's guns after each volley were advanced slowly until they were close to the earthen wall. Suddenly Kesari Singh and his men charged the guns but were repulsed by Abdus-samad Khan. In the hand to hand encounter, Kesari Singh was shot and fell from his horse. His men were thrown into confusion. Abdus-samad Khan, seeing his chance, encouraged his men with a loud voice, and in a short space their opponents were all put to the edge of the sword, not one escaping alive. Following up their advantage, Abdus-samad Khan and his men rushed on towards the entrenchment. Pirthi Raj, leader of Jahan Shah's vanguard, and Abdus-samad Khan entered the position together. Sulaiman Khan and his fellow-Afghans met and opposed their onset. Once he succeeded in forcing back the assailants. But Abdus-samad Khan supported Pirthi Raj vigorously. Shah Nawaz Khan, by Azim-ush-shan's order, now arrived with reinforcements commanded by some Afghan leaders, such as Mali Khan and his son, Alwi Khan. Most of Sulaiman Khan's Afghans were killed. Shah Nawaz Khan was severely wounded and withdrew, having seventeen arrows sticking in him,* while Sulaiman Khan still stood firm, with a hundred of his own most trusty followers, and fronted Abdus-samad Khan and Pirthi Raj. The Turani bowmen, noted for their skill, shot their arrows at Sulaiman Khan and his men, and every arrow emptied a saddle. The Afghans treated it as if they were being pelted with flowers, and still barred the way. When only some thirty or forty horse-

* Shah Nawaz Khan died of his wounds (*Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, 1124). See his biography in *Masir-ul-umara*, iii. 692. He was the last of the Safawi race who distinguished himself in India; he was in the sixth generation from Shah Ismail Safawi, (1500-24). Seven women of the family had been married to Princes of the Mughal imperial house. For lives of Safawis in India, see *Masir-ul-umara*, ii. 670; iii. 296, 434, 477, 555, 556, 581, 583, 677, 692.

men were left, and all hope of reinforcements had vanished, Sulaiman Khan, seeing that further effort was fruitless, collected his men and retreated. As soon as the way was thus opened, Abdus-samad Khan accompanied by Pirthi Raj pressed onwards.*

In another part of the field Daya Ram Nagar attacked Jahan Shah's guns, hoping to pass through them and reach the centre of that Prince's division. But Afzal Khan's courageous resistance defeating this manœuvre, Daya Ram drew rein and turned off towards Jahandar Shah's batteries. Here Daya Bahadur was shot down. His men then dispersed in every direction and sought safety in flight. Those who made off towards the Ravi were met and killed by Rafi-ush-shan's troops, who protected the rear of Jahandar Shah's division. [Nur. 43.]

At length, Jahandar Shah obtained an entrance to the entrenched position of Azim-ush-shan. Zulfiqar Khan's and Jahan Shah's troops took possession of the walls, while Kokaltash Khan, at the head of 4,000 horsemen, was sent to the assistance of Abdus-samad Khan inside the entrenchment. As Jahandar Shah's men began to gain the upper hand, Muhammad Karim, eldest son of Azim-ush-shan, quitted his father and crossing the river hid in the house of a poor cotton-carder or weaver, where he was seized a few days afterwards, as will be related hereafter.† Jahandar Shah's army now advanced in a body against Azim-ush-shan. Sulaiman Khan tried all in vain to re-inspire his troops with confidence. Resolving to sell his own life dearly, he met Jahandar Shah's men with repeated discharges of arrows, until in a short time final disaster fell on Azim-ush-shan's partisans through the loss of the Prince, their leader. [Nur. 44.]

---

* Kamwar Khan, 108; Qasim, 50; Yahya Khan, *fol.* 177*b*.

† One account (Mhd. Qasim, 52) says that he had lost his way at the end of the first day's fighting and wandered all night round his own camp without being able to find it. At dawn one of his servants found him, changed his clothes, put him on a horse and took him to a weaver's house in the quarter of Talbagha, near the shrine of Pir Ali Hajwiri. This saint died in 456 H. (1063-4) and was buried at Lahor—(Beale 246). The mausoleum is now known as Data Ganj-Bakhsh (S. Latif, *History of the Panjab*, 84).

During this day Azim-ush-shan had preserved the same attitude as hitherto of a helpless waiter on events. When Daya Bahadur and Muhkam Singh entreated him to give orders to assume the offensive, no other answer could they force from him except his eternal *andak bashid*, 'Wait a little longer'. They spoke their minds freely to him and went against the enemy without waiting for his orders. We have seen above how little advantage they reaped, in spite of all their exertions. Sufficient reinforcements were not sent, and by the end of the day most of the troops had vanished, having sought a refuge in Lahor city. At last out of the 60,000 to 70,000 men that he had at first under his command, Azim-ush-shan was left with 10,000 to 12,000 men only. During the night which preceded the last day's fighting, the rest of the men deserted. The artillery fire continuing all night long, every man thought of his own safety. Only a few determined to remain steadfast so long as Azim-ush-shan was still alive, and these passed the night in watching and prayer. At early dawn the drum beat for them to take horse. But, when the Prince's war elephant was brought up, it refused to allow him to mount, and his attendants were forced to send for another. Round him were grouped Niamat-ullah Khan and Aqidat Khan in *palkis*, for they said they were wounded, Rajah Raj Singh of Kishangarh with about 1,000 men, and Amin-ud-din Sambhali with twelve relations or dependents and ten new men. Shortly afterwards Khwaja Muhammad Asim,* paymaster of the Ahadis, with Ghulam Husain, an Afghan of Qasur near Lahor, joined the party. In all there may have been two thousand men round the Prince. [*Dastur-ul-insha*, 18.]

It so happened that a high wind sprang up and the sand from the Ravi banks rose in clouds. Everything was blotted from view ; all that they could hear was the report of the cannon, all that they could do was to shut their eyes to keep out the dust. Jahandar Shah's army could not see them, nor could they see any trace of him. Suddenly some Mughals bore down on them

* Afterwards Ashraf Khan, and subsequently Samsam-ud-daulah Khan Dauran Bahadur (d. 1151 H., February, 1739).

and let fly their arrows, by which some flesh wounds were caused. The Mughals did not recognize the Prince, and rode on to plunder the treasure and horses. Then a ball from a small gun (*rahkala*)* passed close over the Prince's elephant and set fire to the cushions, so that the smoke hindered the view. The Prince threw the cushion down, and when asked, said that no harm had been done. Amin-ud-din recommended him to mount his horse and take flight either to Bengal, where he was well known, or to the Dakhin, where Daud Khan Panni was favourable to him. In either place he could recruit his forces and renew the struggle. The Prince replied that Dara Shukoh and Muhammad Shuja had gained nothing by flight, ending by quoting in Arabic the words 'With God's help the few shall overcome the many.' Thus they might still win the day. Amin-ud-din said he had only twenty-two followers left. The Prince asked for ten of them with which to make a charge on Muizz-ud-din, the other twelve could be led by Amin-ud-din against Jahan Shah. This talk was just ended when Khwaja Mhd. Asim, the paymaster of the Ahadi troops, came from his station, and out of friendship to Amin-ud-din, called out, 'I am off to Bengal, come with me.' Amin-ud-din refused to leave while the Prince was still alive. Muhammad Asim then went off towards Sultanpur, in the Jalandhar *Duaba*, and finally made his way to Prince Farrukh-siyar at Patna. Rajah Raj Bahadur escaped to his home country of Kishangarh.†

In a little while a shot from one of the heavy guns struck the trunk of the elephant on which Prince Azim-ush-shan was riding. The elephant turned and fled towards the Ravi, the driver fell off, and Jalal Khan Lodi,‡ the attendant in the hind seat, clambered down by the ropes and escaped. Such was the terror of the elephant that it outstripped the dust itself had raised. Amin-ud-din and others galloped in pursuit at the top

---

* *Rahkala*, J. Shakespeare *Dict.*, 1203, a small cannon, a swivel, a field-piece; also a cart.

† *Dastur-ul-insha*, 18; and B. M. 1690, *fol.* 158*b*; Kishangarh is in Rajputana, north-east of Ajmer.

‡ He was a *qarawul* (huntsman) and *qush-begi* (chief falconer), Warid, 62. He died at the end of Safar 1136 H. at Dihli, *Tarikh-i-Mhdi*.

of their horses' speed, in the hope of barring the elephant's further flight. All was in vain; they were left far behind in the race. Suddenly the elephant disappeared over the high bank overlooking the stream; when the pursuers reached the edge and looked down, all they saw was the heaving mud and sand, from which issued the most frightful roaring. The elephant and the Prince had been swallowed up by a quicksand. Amin-ud-din passed the night alone under the shade of a tree, and in the morning sought refuge in the city of Lahor.*

SEC. 4.—THE DIVISION OF THE SPOIL.

The three Princes ordered the drums to beat for a victory, they sent congratulations to each other, and returned to their quarters with loud rejoicings. The plunderers were meanwhile busy and, with the exception of the treasure and the women's tents, which were protected by a girdle of cannon, the whole contents of that great camp were carried off and hardly a trace of it was left. Such persons as escaped from it were stopped and relieved of their belongings by the men attached to Jahandar Shah's artillery, whose camp was at the Shalimar garden. Horses and camels without number and much property fell into these men's hands. Jahandar Shah's troops speedily surrounded and took possession of the carts laden with treasure, of the cannon, and of the household of Azim-ush-shan. Thus the painfully collected wealth of that Prince, the fruit of years of meanness, became in a moment the prey of his adversary. [Kamwar, 109-110.]

* *Dastur-ul-insha*, 20,—Kamwar Khan, 109, says that Azim-ush-shan's corpse was brought in, and speaks (138) of its being sent by Farrukh-siyar to Aurangabad for burial; Yahya Khan, 117*b* also says it was found in the river and brought in; but I prefer the account in Amin-ud-din's letters, as given in the *Dastur-ul-insha*. I believe these letters to be genuine, and they were evidently so considered by Ghulam Husain Khan, who used them in writing his *Siyar-ul-mutakherin*, see Briggs, 29. Warid, 63, states that the elephant was brought in, but many believed that Azim-ush-shan escaped alive, since his body had not been found. When Warid wrote, nineteen years afterwards, the Prince had never been heard of. Others asserted that Rajah Raj Singh, styled Raj Bahadur, had carried off the corpse to his own country, *i.e.*, Kishangarh (Mhd. Qasim, 51).

The claims of Azim-ush-shan, whom judicious observers had considered the destined successor to the throne, being thus finally disposed of, the agents of the two younger Princes attended Zulfiqar Khan for several days in succession with a request for a division of the booty and the realm, according to the compact that had been entered into. But Zulfiqar Khan, his pride raised above all bounds by such a victory over his most powerful opponent, had forgotten all his oaths and promises. Furthermore, it was clear to everybody that just as two swords cannot be got into one scabbard, there cannot be two kings in one kingdom.* Each day witnessed the invention of new excuses.† His hope was that the two Princes having no money, their armies, largely composed of mere mercenaries, would during this prolonged delay disperse of themselves. One day he paid a visit to Prince Rafi-ush-shan and made to him the usual evasive promises. Another day he visited Jahan Shah. Rustam Dil Khan, who had been released from prison shortly before Bahadur Shah's death, had from the first taken the side of Jahan Shah. He and Mukhlis Khan Harisi now said to the Prince that this man (Zulfiqar Khan) was the root of all the troubles, if he were disposed of, the rest would be easy. Jahan Shah refused his consent, repeating the line, 'When God the Beneficent is our friend, what can our enemy do?'‡ Moreover, Zulfiqar Khan's obsequious manners in his presence led him to believe that the man was at heart his friend. One of Jahan Shah's chief men gave Zulfiqar Khan a hint and he hastened his departure, asking as a pretext that an officer might be sent with him to take over the Prince's share of the treasure and military stores. The Prince, only too delighted at the prospect, gave him his dismissal at once. As he left he said to the two nobles above-named, 'You have done your best for your master, but if he does not accept, it is because fate so decrees and not

---

* *Do shamsher dar yak ghilaf o do Padshah dar yak mulk budan muhal ast,* Yahya Khan, 117*b*.

† The Dutchmen, who take Jahandar Shah's side throughout, put the blame on Prince Jahan Shah's greediness, in claiming one-half instead of one-third of the confiscated property—Valentyn, iv. 293.

‡ *Dushman cheh kunad, chun Mihrban bashad dost.*

through your fault.' When he reached his quarters, he gave a flat denial to the officer who had accompanied him, and sent off both money and *matériel* to Jahandar Shah.*

During this interval Rafi-ush-shan, through his conduct to Hakim-ul-mulk, had cooled the zeal of any nobles who might have assisted him. Hakim-ul-mulk had received from him a promise of being his chief minister, and was deep in his confidence. But by chance there fell into the Prince's hands letters from the Hakim to Zulfiqar Khan, giving full details of all the Prince's intentions and plans. These letters had, it seems, been passing daily. Hakim-ul-mulk was sent for and so severely treated that he was carried away to his quarters half dead. [Yahya, 118*a*.]

SEC. 5.—DEATH OF JAHAN SHAH.

At last no doubt remained of Zulfiqar Khan's intentions, and further delay was obviously useless. The Princes ordered the enlistment of fresh troops, and a number of Azim-ush-shan's fugitive troops returned from Lahor city and were admitted into Jahan Shah's service. Some three thousand or four thousand experienced soldiers were thus recruited. Jahandar Shah adopted similar measures, taking on many of the fugitives at high rates of pay. Rafi-ush-shan did the same. A few days only had passed since these men had been ranged in battle against their new employers ; then for a time they had been unable to find bread to eat and were trembling for their very lives. By one of those transformations peculiar to such times, they were now restored to prosperity as suddenly as they had been plunged into poverty. In eight days from the defeat and death of Azim-ush-shan all preparations had been completed. [Kamwar, 110 ; Nur. 59.]

On the 18th Safar 1124 H. (26th March, 1712) Jahan Shah made the first movement. He marched from his old position near Shah Mir's tomb and encamped near the village of Handu Gujar,† where there was an imperial hunting preserve. At once

* Kamwar Khan, 110; Khush-hal Chand, 385*a*-386*a*; Yahya Khan, 117*b*.

† Query *Mandu Gujran* on *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 30, just north of Mian Mir and the Railway line?

Jahandar Shah sent out his advance guard under Kokaltash Khan and Abdus-samad Khan, now his *Mir Atash* or general of artillery. The fighting was confined to the artillery. Rustam Dil Khan, who had charge of the artillery for Jahan Shah, placed two cannon in a commanding position and killed many men, the fight being continued until the setting of the sun. Both armies encamped on the ground they occupied, and under cover of night many of the mercenaries absconded. The numbers on both sides were thereby much diminished. During this night Jahan Shah's powder magazines were exploded. Raji Muhammad Khan, afterwards Jahandar Shah's *Mir Atash*, obtained the credit of this exploit.*

The next day (19th Safar 1124 H., 27th March, 1712)† the fight was renewed, and it continued till the sun had passed the meridian, when both combatants prepared to rest and refresh themselves where they stood. Owing to the hot wind and exhaustion, the fighting had been up to this time far from vigorous. Jahan Shah now ordered a charge to be made by Rustam Dil Khan, Jani Khan and Mukhlis Khan. They rushed forward 'as a hungry tiger out of ambush flings itself on a buffalo's head.' Rustam Dil Khan reached without hindrance Jahandar Shah's vanguard which with little or no effort he drove before him, and pursuing the fugitives, he soon reached their centre. Here Azz-ud-din, the eldest son of Jahandar Shah, was made a prisoner. Nor far off was a small field-tent, in which Jahandar Shah had passed the night with his concubine, Lal Kunwar.‡ Surprised by this sudden attack, the Prince came

* Kamwar Khan, 110; Nur-ud-din, 51; Mhd. Qasim, 54; Valentyn, iv. 293.

† This is Kamwar Khan's date, but the Dutch envoy, then in Lahor, (Valentyn, iv. 294) says the 27th March was spent by Jahan Shah in a heavy cannonade and the attack was delivered on the 28th. Mirza Muhammad, p. 131, who was also there, gives the 20th Safar (28th March) as the date of the Prince's defeat.

‡ Mhd. Qasim, 55, calls her *Lad* Kunwar. She was a singing girl, who had become Jahandar Shah's favourite concubine. The *Hadiqat-ul-aqalim*, 131, says she was the daughter of Khasusiyat Khan, a descendant of Miyan Tan Sen, the celebrated musician of Akbar's time. (Blochmann, *Ain*. i. 612). There is the same statement in *Dastur-ul-insha*, 133, from which Shaikh

out and mounted his elephant, while Lal Kunwar entered a litter and fled for safety to the mansion of Dara Shukoh in the city of Lahor, a house which had been recently assigned to her. [Warid, 65.]

Rustam Dil Khan, followed by Jani Khan and Mir Baqi, forced his way to the elephant bearing Jahandar Shah, to whom he made use of the most abusive language. The Prince's defenders Diler Dil Khan (Khwaja Abdullah), his brother Lutfullah Khan Sadiq, and Rai Surat Singh Multani, with his relations, did what they could to protect their master, but were driven away. Jahandar Shah, before his assailants came too close, crouched down in the high-sided, iron-plated canopy (*imari*) so as to be completely hidden from view. The horsemen supposing that the Prince had quitted his elephant, turned off and attacked his escort. The plausible talk of the Prince's elephant-driver meanwhile so deceived Rustam Dil Khan and Jani Khan that they too desisted, and turned their attention elsewhere. By the time that they had learned the truth and could return, the elephant-driver had driven his elephant away to a place of safety. Then came disturbing reports of the defeat and death of Jahan Shah. As soon as these were confirmed, Rustam Dil Khan and Jani Khan felt perplexed, and in the hope of securing for themselves an intercessor, they released their prisoner, Prince Azz-ud-din. All haste was then made to the place where Jahan Shah had fallen a victim to Zulfiqar Khan's attack. By heroic exertions Rustam Dil Khan and his companions rescued the Prince's elephant from the hands of the enemy: but all was in vain, they recovered nothing but a lifeless body. The only course left to them was to seek safety in flight.*

Soon after ordering the charge by Rustam Dil Khan, Jahan Shah followed him in person at the head of his own troops. The movements of so many men had created so much dust that it was impossible to keep the right direction, nor could the one

---

Allahyar probably copied. There is a long poetical description of her charms in the fragmentary History, B. M. *Or. 3610, fol.* 18*b*, which ends thus:

Ba khubi Lal Kunwar nam-i-u bud,
Shakkar-guftar, sim-andam-i-u bud.

* Warid, 66; Kamwar Khan, 112; Mhd. Qasim Lahori, 54, 55.

army know the exact position of the other. The battle resolved itself into a number of separate skirmishes, the men attacking any one that they found in front of them, without regard to their own supports or any attempt at combined effort. Rustam Dil Khan's charge had been so far successful that Jahandar Shah's troops were shaken, and most of them took to flight and sought shelter wherever they could find it. One body of matchlockmen succeeded in reaching a deserted village, and there they hid themselves behind the ruined walls of the houses. In the confusion, and blinded by the clouds of dust, the wings and centre of Jahan Shah's force quitted the direction in which their vanguard had advanced, and losing their way, arrived at the village within which the matchlockmen were hiding. As Jahan Shah's men came into sight, the fugitives supposed that their retreat had been discovered, and resolved on selling their lives dearly. Jahan Shah was amazed by the sudden delivery of their fire, and his men hesitated. Emboldened by this first success, the matchlockmen renewed their fire and continued their defence. [Warid, 67.]

When informed of the unexpected attack on Jahandar Shah, Zulfiqar Khan left his tents in great perturbation to search for his master. On his way spies brought him word that a few matchlockmen had engaged Jahan Shah, when separated from the main body of his army and followed by no more than one thousand horsemen. Zulfiqar Khan hastened to the spot thus indicated. His arrival encouraged the matchlockmen to redouble their exertions. Jahan Shah, noticing the slackness of his men, drove his elephant to the front. The musket-fire now began to tell so severely that Jahan Shah's side relaxed all further effort, and most of them rode off. Excepting the few men round his elephant, the Prince was left alone. The other side now assumed the offensive, and the Prince's son, Farkhunda Akhtar, who had claimed command of the vanguard, was shot through the head at the first discharge. A moment afterwards Jahan Shah followed his son into the realms of Death. By one of those sudden reversals of fortune, so frequent in Eastern story, just as Jahandar Shah was about to flee in despair from the battlefield, Zulfiqar Khan appeared with his rival's head and

laid it before him with his congratulations. As Shaikh Sadi Shirazi says, 'A man wept all night at the bedside of a sick friend ; when morning came, he was dead and the friend was living.'

It is even said that so complete was the belief in Jahan Shah's victory that the news of his accession was spread far and wide by the messengers of the Rajputana moneylenders, and in many places the *khutba* was read in his name.*

SEC. 6.—DEFEAT AND DEATH OF RAFI-USH-SHAN.

Until two hours after sunset on this day, Rafi-ush-shan stood two *kos* from the field of battle, with his army drawn up in readiness. He had been advised to stand aloof and await the result of Jahan Shah's efforts. The astrologers had also told him that in the end, the prize would fall to his lot. In this way his inaction is to be accounted for. It was now necessary to find out how the day had gone.† The patrols and scouts brought in conflicting reports ; the only thing certain was that one or other of the two parties had gained the day. At length, when about one-fourth of the night had passed, an elephant without a driver appeared in the distance. When it had been captured, it was found that within the canopy was seated one of the children of Jahan Shah with its nurse. Rafi-ush-shan re-assured the child by giving him some fruit, and from his lips the fate of the battle was learnt. The Prince then sent one of his eunuchs to Jahandar Shah with a message to the effect that he (Rafi-ush-shan) not having in any way broken the compact, what were his brother's intentions with respect to him? On reaching the tent of Jahandar Shah, the eunuch was told that the Emperor, tired out by exertions extending over a whole day and night, had retired to rest and could not be disturbed. The messenger proceeded next to the quarters of Zulfiqar Khan, where he was met with the same excuse. He now took his

* Warid, 70; *M. U.* ii. 93; Khafi Khan, ii. 687; Mhd. Qasim, 57.

† Valentyn, iv. 293, says that, although Rafi-ush-shan had received twenty-five lakhs of Rupees to remain neutral, he attacked Jahandar Shah's rear, while Jahan Shah went against his flank. Rafi-ush-shan then kept up a cannonade all through the night.

way to Kokaltash Khan, whom he found still awake, and to him he conveyed his master's message. Kokaltash Khan, styled indignantly by Kamwar Khan a 'senseless blockhead,' called out 'Perhaps you have come to see Jahan Shah ; there they are, the corpses of father and son ; tell Rafi if he wants to fight, he will meet the same fate.' The eunuch returned and reported to his master what he had heard and seen. [Kamwar 112, Qasim 58.]

At midnight Rafi-ush-shan dismounted from his elephant and called his chief men around him for a council of war. One officer argued that as Jahandar Shah and his men were worn out, they ought to attack him at once. Others objected to fighting in the dark. No clear conclusion was arrived at. Anxious and disheartened, the Prince again ascended his elephant and waited wearily for the dawn. When day broke on the 20th Safar (28th March, 1712),* orders were given to Jahangir Quli Khan and Muin Khan to advance with the artillery and begin the action. As the sun appeared above the horizon, Fath-ullah Khan Mughal, who had received large sums from the Prince, deserted his post in the right wing and rode off to Jahandar Shah. Shamsher Khan Qureshi, of Hansi Hisar, Afzal Khan, and other of his relations and dependents had been ordered out to reinforce him. On reaching the field, they found he had gone over to the other side, and greeted them with a volley from his swivel guns. They pulled up and took to their bows and their matchlocks, with which they replied for about the space of one hour. Shamsher Khan and some of his relations were killed. Afzal Khan received two arrow wounds, and his son Mirza Nakki, two sword cuts.†

The Prince's choicest troops, who had been sent to the front first, having deserted, the army of Jahandar Shah, under Zabardast Khan (grandson of Ali Mardan Khan), Shakir Khan, and Hafiz Ali Khan, advanced against the centre division under Rafi-ush-shan's personal command. His troops, largely

* The 21st Safar in Mirza Muhammad, p. 135; Valentyn, 294, gives the 29th March (=21st Safar); Yahya Khan, 118a, has the 20th but gives the year 1123 H. which should be 1124 H.

† Kamwar Khan, 113; Mhd. Qasim 60; Yahya Khan, 118a.

composed of new levies, turned and fled. The few that stood fast resisted to the best of their power. Hatim Khan and Kazim Khan Najm Sani* received severe wounds, of which they finally died. Abdur-rahim Khan was wounded, and Nur Khan Afghan, who had been placed in charge of the women, hastened to his master's aid and after a valorous defence was cut down. Anup Singh Naroka and eleven of his relations were cut to pieces in front of the Prince's elephant. Finally Rafi-ush-shan, followed by Abdul-latif, his teacher, jumped from his elephant, and rushing sword in hand upon the foe, met his death bravely fighting, being shot through the heart. His army was entirely overthrown ; tents, mules, horses, camels, goods of every kind were plundered. The Prince's body, accompanied by his three sons and the litters of his wives, was carried off to Jahandar Shah. For three days the latter allowed the bodies of his brothers and his nephew to lie exposed on the sands, and on the fourth day only gave orders for their interment. The three biers were despatched with that of Bahadur Shah to Dihli for interment.

---

* *i.e.*, a descendant of Mirza Yar Ahmad, surnamed Najm Sani, Wazir of Ismail I. Safawi, king of Persia. He died in Ramzan 918 H. (November 1512), Beale, 290.

CHAPTER III

JAHANDAR SHAH

SEC. 1.—NEW APPOINTMENTS.

All his rivals having been removed, Jahandar Shah proceeded at once to carry out his formal enthronement and proclamation as sovereign of Hindustan. Tents were erected on the battle-field outside Lahor, and on the 21st Safar 1124 H. (29th March, 1712), the day after the defeat of Rafi-ush-shan, the usual ceremonies were observed. Jahandar Shah was at the time fifty-two (lunar) years of age. His titles were Abul-fath, Muhammad Muizz-ud-din, Jahandar Shah. [Nur. 66.]

The usual re-distribution of the great offices of the State followed the coronation. Asad Khan remained, as during the reign of Bahadur Shah, *Wakil-i-mutlaq* or Vice-gerent. His son, Zulfiqar Khan, Nusrat Jang, became chief minister, with the rank of 8,000 *zat* and a gift of a large sum of money. Ali Murad Kokaltash Khan, who had been long in Jahandar Shah's service, was given the title of Khan Jahan, and appointed to be first *Bakhshi.* The office of *diwan* of the *Tan,* or assigned land revenue, was conferred on Ikhlas Khan in addition to his former office of *darogha* of the *arz mukarrar ;* while Sabha Chand, secretary to Zulfiqar Khan was made a Rajah and entrusted with the post of diwan of the public revenues or *Khalsa-i-sharifa.* Hidayatullah Khan (known as Wazarat Khan in the last year of Bahadur Shah) was created Sadullah Khan and made *Khan-saman* or Lord High Steward. Sayyid Raji Muhammad Khan, a Gardezi of Manikpur, subah Allahabad, who had acquired great credit by blowing up Jahan Shah's powder magazines, became *Mir Atash,* or commander of artillery. Khwaja Husain, who had married the sister of Kokaltash Khan's wife, was made Khan Dauran, and 2nd *Bakhshi ;* while Muhammad Mah Zafar Khan, brother of the said Kokaltash Khan, became Azam Khan with the governorship of Agra. Lutfullah Khan Sadiq Panipati, who had been one of Jahan Shah's chief advisers, but early deserted

him and obtained pardon by a large bribe (said to have been thirty lakhs of Rupees), was now made diwan to the new Emperor's eldest son, Azz-ud-din. Inayatullah Khan Kashmiri was sent off to the subah of Kashmir, which he already held, and Zabardast Khan (with the new title of Ali Mardan Khan) was appointed to Lahor.*

SEC. 2.—EXECUTIONS AND IMPRISONMENTS.

The troops of the deceased Princes, on being refused further employment, dispersed in all directions, some thousands of them marching eastwards to Bihar and Bengal under Mir Ishaq,† (son of Amir Khan deceased), Khwaja Muzaffar, Khwaja Fakhr-ud-din, Khwaja Lutfullah and others. But all of the defeated party were not so lucky as to be thought beneath notice. Mahabat Khan, son of Munim Khan, the late Wazir, Hamid-ud-din Khan Alamgiri, Sarafraz Khan Bahadur-Shahi, Rahman Yar Khan, Ihtimam Khan, Amin-ud-din Khan Sambhali, and some others, were sent to Dihli as prisoners and their property confiscated.

Some of the prisoners did not even escape with their lives. Rustam Dil Khan, Mukhlis Khan, and Jani Khan, who had been prominent among the followers of Jahan Shah, were ordered out for execution. Jani Khan was spared on the intercession of Prince Azz-ud-din. It seems that when that Prince was a prisoner in the hands of the above-named men, as already related, word came to them that Jahan Shah was dead. Rustam Dil Khan exclaimed 'What was fated to be has happened ; and what is to be will without fail come to pass ! Let us slay Azz-ud-din and avenge the blood of Jahan Shah'. Jani Khan objected that such an act would be useless, and it would be better for them to take steps for their own safety. Accordingly the Prince was released, and he now repaid the kindness then done to him. On the other hand, Rustam Dil Khan's offences were

* Warid, 79; Mhd. Qasim Lahori, 63; Kamwar Khan, 117; and B. M. No. 1690.

† Mir Ishaq is the man afterwards famous as Amir Khan, Umdat-ul-mulk, assassinated the 23rd Zul Hijja 1159 H. (5th January, 1747), *Masir-ul-umara*, ii. 839.

many. He had urged Jahan Shah to seize and kill Zulfiqar Khan ; he had used abusive language to Jahandar Shah in the battle-field and made every effort to take his life ; worst of all, when retreating from the field, he had overtaken Lal Kunwar, then fleeing for safety to Lahor, and had swept her and her retinue roughly out of his path. If Zabardast Khan had not come to her aid, there is no knowing to what indignities Lal Kunwar might not have been exposed, for Rustam Dil Khan was about to undo the tassel of pearls hanging from the sash (*izar-band*) of her trousers, when she was rescued from his hands.

What crime Mukhlis Khan had committed is not so clear. Some say that he was an object of dislike to Kokaltash Khan, and it is possible that Zulfiqar Khan may have borne him a grudge for the advice given to Jahan Khan to seize that noble. The traitor Lutfullah Khan Mughal, who deserted Rafi-ush-shan in the battle-field, is also supposed to have persuaded Jahandar Shah that his brothers would never have resisted him, if it had not been for the urgency of Rustam Dil Khan and Mukhlis Khan. The Dutch diary, which is coloured by a desire to favour Jahandar Shah, accuses both men of having entered the late Emperor's harem, where they plundered and violated some of the women.*

Rustam Dil Khan bore to the last his character for reckless bravery. When he was brought before Zulfiqar Khan, the Wazir smiled and said to him ; 'In spite of all your cleverness, what dirt have you not ended in eating!' Rustam Dil Khan laughed and retorted : 'You and I ate the same dirt out of the same tray, it agreed with you and not with me.' Zulfiqar Khan had no answer to give, but hung down his head. As the executioner cut off one limb after another, Rustam Dil Khan continued to comment freely on Jahandar Shah, Zulfiqar Khan and Kokaltash Khan, and even to the end he never flinched. As soon as breath had left the body, his mangled limbs and the headless trunk of Mukhlis Khan were hung to the wayside trees. The confiscated property of Rustam Dil Khan, said to have

*Warid, 83; Mhd. Qasim Lahori, 62; Yahya Khan, 118*b* (as to Jani Khan); *Siyar-ul-mutakherin*, i. 33; Briggs, 42; Valentyn, iv. 294. Anon. Fragment B. M. *Or. 3613, fol.* 16*a*.

amounted in value to twelve lakhs of Rupees, was granted to Abdus-samad Khan. [Warid 85, Nur. 71.]

SEC. 3.—ABDUS-SAMAD KHAN, SKETCH OF HIS CAREER.

The history of Abdus-samad Khan, who in the reign of Farrukh-siyar assumed a more leading position, is a striking instance of the vicissitudes to which such soldiers of fortune were subject. He was a native of Samarqand, descended from the Naqshbandi saint Abdullah Ahrar,* and had served long in the Dakhin during Alamgir's reign without attracting any great notice. In Bahadur Shah's reign he came more to the front and strengthened his position by forming a marriage connection with the powerful Mughal family represented by Muhammad Amin Khan Chin. One day, towards the end of Bahadur Shah's reign, Abdus-samad Khan pressed his claims on Prince Azim-ush-shan, who was then all-powerful. The Prince disliked the man and gave an evasive answer. Abdus-samad Khan lost his temper and used disrespectful language. On a complaint to Bahadur Shah, Abdus-samad Khan was ejected from the imperial camp and ordered to start on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Reduced to the one horse he himself rode, he left the camp with his wife and family and halted at a little distance, hoping to negotiate a loan to pay his travelling expenses. These efforts had met with little success, when suddenly Bahadur Shah passed away and the contest for the throne began. Zulfiqar Khan knew that Abdus-samad Khan was a brave soldier, and his recent quarrel with Azim-ush-shan made him a still more fitting instrument for the coming struggle. He was therefore sent for and given the rank of 7,000 and

* Khwaja Nasir-ud-din Abdullah, son of Mahmud, son of Shahab-ud-din Ahrar, a descendant of Khwaja Muhammad Baqi of Baghdad. At first he lived in Shash (now Tashkand). His mother was a descendant of Shaikh Umar of Baghistan, which is a village belonging to Tashkand. Shaikh Umar is descended in the 16th generation from Abdullah, son of Umar, son of Alkhitab Khalifa Sani. Ahrar left Tashkand for Samarqand and Bukhara, and dying on the 29th Rabi I. 895 H. (20th Feb. 1490), aged 89, was buried at Samarqand. *Khazinat-ul-asfiya*, i. 582-585, Beale, 5 (Abdullah) and 275, where he spells *Ubidullah*, and gives the date as Rabi II. 896 H. (Feb. 1491).

placed in command of Jahandar Shah's vanguard. From this time his fortunes were made. [Warid, 124a.]

SEC. 4.—DEATH OF PRINCE MUHAMMAD KARIM.

The hiding place of Muhammad Karim, eldest son of Azim-ush-shan, was soon discovered. After a short time, his resources being exhausted, he was forced to make over a valuable jewel to the poor weaver in whose house he was hidden, with orders to pawn it and buy food. The value of the jewel led to the man being questioned, and in the end he disclosed the secret. The news reached Hidayat Kesh, a converted Hindu who was *waqia-nigar-i-kul*, or head of the central news-office. This man made Muhammad Karim a prisoner and produced him before Jahandar Shah, by whom he was transferred to Zulfiqar Khan. He was executed two days afterwards at that noble's quarters. They say that the wretched Prince asked with tears for a little bread and water, having been three days without food. No attention was paid to his request. After his head had been severed from his body, the corpse was buried at the mausoleum of the Emperor Jahangir, which is on the further or right bank of the Ravi.*

SEC. 5.—THE COURT MOVES TO DIHLI—DESPATCH OF AZZ-UD-DIN TO AGRA.

The Court now started from Lahor on its return to Dihli. Jahandar Shah left the banks of the Ravi on the 25th Rabi I. 1124 H. (May 1st, 1712); he entered Dihli on the 18th Jamadi I. (June 22nd, 1712).† During the march a rumour was heard that Farrukh-siyar, the second son of the late Azim-ush-shan,

* Mhd. Qasim, 52, 62; Warid, 63, 64; Kamwar Khan, 114; Khafi Khan, ii. 688. The Dutch account, Valentyn, iv. 294, here as elsewhere favourable to Jahandar Shah, asserts that the young Prince was at first pardoned, but soon afterwards executed on the complaint of Kokaltash Khan 'to whom he had addressed foul language, and on account of his other debaucheries.' Valentyn gives a portrait of him.

† Valentyn, 297, says the march began on the 10th May, which corresponds with the 4th Rabi, II. B. M. No. 1690 *fol.* 160*a*, states that they left Lahor city on the 26th Rabi, I. Khafi Khan, ii. 718, and B. M. 1690, *fol.* 160*a*, say the entry into Dihli took place on the 17th Jamadi I.

had left Bengal and arrived at Patna with the intention of contesting the new Emperor's right to the throne. Jahandar Shah treated the idea as ridiculous, saying that any one of the *faujdars* would be sufficient to defeat such a feeble foe. Still, as a precaution, the eldest Prince, Azz-ud-din, was placed at the head of some troops and sent to Agra, there to watch the course of events. A large sum of money, said to be nine *krors* of Rupees, was disbursed to him on the 15th Jamadi II. (19th July, 1712), for this purpose. His force is estimated by Khafi Khan at 50,000 men. As he was young and inexperienced, and had shown not only signs of discontent at his father's conduct, but also dislike of Lal Kunwar, he was not trusted with the real command. He was placed under the tutelage of two men (1) Khwaja Husain Khan Dauran, brother-in-law of Kokaltash Khan,* and (2) Lutfullah Khan Sadiq, the Prince's own *diwan*. These appointments were made in opposition to the advice of Zulfiqar Khan, Kokaltash Khan taking the whole responsibility. Neither of the men had any experience of war, Khan Dauran had never been in a battle, and as the event proved, no more incompetent leaders could have been selected. As has been wisely said, Jahandar Shah forgot the maxim, 'Place no man at the head of an army, unless he has been in many a battle.'†

It was while the Court was at Sarai Dauraha, between Lahor and Sarhind, on its progress towards Dihli, that Mirza Rafi Sarbuland Khan, brother-in-law of the late Azim-ush-shan, presented himself with five or six thousand men. Azim-ush-shan had procured for him the appointment of *faujdar* at Karra Manikpur in the Allahabad province. But forgetting all his obligations, as soon as he heard the result of the late struggle, instead of waiting to assist his patron's son, Farrukh-siyar, he collected all the revenue that he could, some ten to twelve lakhs of Rupees, and started for the camp of Jahandar Shah.

* The printed text of Khafi Khan, ii. 697, calls him the *nabirah* (grandson), of Kokaltash Khan, probably a misprint for *yaznah*, (brother-in-law.)

† *Sipah ra ma-kun pesh-ru juz kase, Kih dar jangha budah bashad base.* *Masir-ul-umara*, ii. 93; Ijad, 15; Mirza Mhd. 141; Khafi Khan, ii. 697, 700, 712, 715; Valentyn, iv. 299.

There, through the intervention of Niamat Khan, a brother of Lal Kunwar, and that of Khan Jahan Kokaltash Khan, he received the governorship of Ahmadabad Gujarat, without the *Wazir*, Zulfiqar Khan, having been consulted. [K. K. 715, Ijad 49 *a*.]

SEC. 6.—JAHANDAR SHAH'S LIFE AT DIHLI.

The next five months from July to December, until the Emperor marched from Dihli towards Agra, were given up to dissipation. As the proverb says 'Mad already, he has now taken to eating hemp.' [*M. U.* ii. 93.] Dihli for a time fell under the dominion of the Lord of Misrule. Grand illuminations took place three times in every month. In consequence of the extensive illuminations, so much oil was used that it rose to be half a *sir* weight to the Rupee ; then, all the oil being expended, they had recourse to clarified butter until it, too, ceased to be procurable. Grain also grew very dear ; not more than seven or eight *sirs* weight being procurable for a Rupee. One day some porters came from the other side of the Jamuna with head loads of grain. Lal Kunwar, who was looking out of the latticed window in the Saman Burj (or bastion) of the palace, sent for one of these men and asked him 'What have you given for this grain?' He replied 'Five or six Rupees.' She exclaimed, 'Praise be to God! things are still so cheap! Please the Lord Most High, I will bring the rate to five or six *sirs* for that amount of money.' From this may be judged what ideas prevailed in other State affairs. Another day Jahandar Shah and Lal Kunwar were on the roof of the palace, watching what was going on upon the river. A boat full of men crossed over. The favourite said 'I have never seen a boat-load of men go down.' A hint was enough. Boatmen were ordered out with a boat-load of passengers, and the favourite's wish to see the wretched drowning people struggling in the water was at once gratified.*

* Khush-hal Chand, 390*b*. As to the drowning, Kamraj, *Ibratnama*, 46*b*, says that Zulfiqar Khan forbade it. The same story is told of Fazl Ali Khan, *amil* of Ghazipur, Oldham, i. 93.

During these months the fiddlers and drummers, who were Lal Kunwar's brothers and relations, swaggered through the streets, committing every sort of outrage. Lal Kunwar was dignified with the title of *Imtiyaz Mahal,* Chosen of the Palace, and immense treasures, the spoils from Azim-ush-shan's and Jahan Shah's camps, were made over to her. Her whole family was ennobled, father, brothers, and brothers-in-law. Her middle brother was the most oppressive of all to the people. All the brothers were granted the *naubat,* or the right to play music at stated intervals, and the use of kettle-drums when on the march. Their titles were Niamat Khan, Namdar Khan, and Khanazad Khan. Some of the finest confiscated mansions in the city were given to them, and as Kamwar Khan says, 'the owl dwelt in the eagle's nest, and the crow took the place of the nightingale.' [Kamwar 119, Yahya 119 *a.*]

To this period belongs the story of Niamat Khan *Kalawant's** appointment to the *subah* of Multan. The Emperor signified his pleasure to the Wazir, but there was an unaccountable delay in the issue of the usual patent. The nominee at length presented himself to Zulfiqar Khan and made enquiry. The Wazir replied, with all gravity, that it was a well-known rule of every public office to issue no patent without a fee in cash. As he wished to be obliging, he would not ask for cash, but since he had need of them, would take instead one thousand guitars.† The stupid fellow, not seeing the ironical nature of this reply, worked his hardest and in a week sent as many as two hundred guitars to Zulfiqar Khan. The Wazir insisted upon delivery of the full number. Niamat Khan complained to His Majesty of the excessive bribe demanded from him. Jahandar Shah, when next he saw the Wazir, asked him the reason of collecting so many guitars. The answer was that when musicians were sent to govern provinces, nobles must discard their weapons and learn to play on the guitar.

* *Kalawant*—These are the male members of the professional singer class; the women sing and dance, the men play the accompaniments.

† *Tanbur,* a long-necked guitar, see figure on plate opposite p. 114 of *Ghunchah-i-rag,* (Nawal Kishor Press, Lakhnau, 1863).

This remonstrance induced Jahandar Shah to cancel the appointment.*

Among other wild freaks, an order was given to cut down all the lofty trees from the palace to the hunting preserve called Jahan-numa. Khush-hal Chand, a rare instance of an Indian taking notice of the beauty of natural objects, laments over the wanton destruction of the 'spreading trees, with heads reaching the sky, the refuge and solace of the weary, foot-sore, traveller, the abode of far-flying and sweet-singing birds. Throughout Dihli and its environs it was for the trees like the coming of Judgment Day ; and the trees on the two banks of the Faiz canal, planted by Emperors of high emprize, ceasing to raise their heads to Heaven, received wounds in the garment of their existence, and fell into the dust of degradation and disgrace.' [Khush-hal, 389 *b*.]

Gifts were showered upon Lal Kunwar and her friends. It is said that an annual allowance of two *krors* of Rupees (about £2,000,000 sterling) was made for her household expenses, exclusive of clothes and jewels. She was allowed to display the imperial umbrella and to march, with drums beating, as if she had been the Emperor in person. One writer says the days of Nur Jahan Begam were revived for her ; that coins were issued in her name as they had been in that of Jahangir's favourite wife. Such coins of Lal Kunwar, if ever issued, have not come down to us. Low persons, such as Zuhara, a woman who kept a vegetable stall, were promoted to high rank and received valuable jagirs. There are many stories of the insolent conduct of these low-born favourites. One day Chin Qilich Khan (afterwards Nizam-ul-mulk), then living at Dihli without employment, was passing in his *palki* through a narrow street, when he was met by Zuhara on an elephant, followed by a long train of servants. The Khan's small retinue was hustled out of the way by the woman's followers, and as she passed she cried out, 'Is that the blind man's son?'† By the Khan's

---

* Warid, 80; Khush-hal Chand, 389b. Valentyn, 299, places the event on the 25th July (=19th Jamadi II.) and his details differ slightly.

† His father, Ghazi-ud-din Khan Firuz Jang, although in active military

orders his men pulled her rudely from her elephant. Complaint was made to the Emperor through Lal Kunwar, and Zulfiqar Khan received orders to punish the Nawab. Zulfiqar Khan, who had been previously spoken to by Chin Qilich Khan, objected to the order as likely to cause wide-spread disaffection among the nobles. The matter then dropped. [Scott, ii. Pt. iv. 81, *Siyar* 48.]

Lal Kunwar herself was the cause of an estrangement between the Emperor and his aunt, Zinat-un-nissa Begam, daughter of Alamgir. This Princess had refused to visit or acknowledge the new favourite, who in her rage loaded the royal lady with the most opprobrious epithets. At his mistress' instigation the Emperor ceased to visit his aunt, and refused her invitation to an entertainment, because Lal Kunwar had not been asked to it. Again, as she did not like the Emperor's two younger sons, Azz-ud-daulah and Muizz-ud-daulah, their father refused to see them and sent them to prison. [Scott, 83 ; Yahya, 119 *a*.]

Jahandar Shah and his concubine, in defiance of etiquette, often visited the markets together, seated in a bullock carriage, making at the shops such purchases as took their fancy. One night after a day spent in debauchery and in visits to various gardens round the city, they entered the house of a spirit-seller, a friend of Lal Kunwar. There they drank till they were intoxicated. On their leaving, the woman owning the shop was rewarded with a sum of money and a grant of the revenue of a village. During the journey home they both fell asleep, and, on reaching the palace, Lal Kunwar was taken out by her women and carried to her room. The driver of the *rath*,* who had also shared in the carouse, made no inspection of it and left it at the stable. The Emperor's absence began to cause alarm to the officers of the palace. He was not to be found in Lal Kunwar's apartments, and on her direction the *rath* was

employ was blind during the last twenty-three years of his life (*Masir-ul-umara* ii. 875).

* *Rath*, a four-wheeled carriage, with canopy, drawn by two oxen, and much used in Upper India.

examined. There the Emperor was found fast asleep, nearly two miles from the palace. Khush-hal Chand quotes, as applying to Jahandar Shah when he woke and knew not where he was, the lines :—A drunk man is so happy that at the Resurrection he asks 'Who am I, who are you, and what place is this?'

Another instance of utter abandonment of decorum was the fact that acting on the popular belief, Jahandar Shah bathed every Sunday in company with Lal Kunwar, both naked as they were born, in the tank at the shrine of Shaikh Nasir-ud-din Oudhi, commonly called the Chiragh-i-Dihli (or Lamp of Dihli), in the hope that his saintly intercession might bless them with offspring. It is necessary for attaining this object to bathe at this place naked every Sunday for forty weeks.* We are also told of what he did once on a visit to the shrine of Qutb-ud-din. Near it is an eminence ending in a rock, with smooth, slippery face, sloping down to the plain ; and here the street boys of Dihli amused themselves by climbing the rock and rolling over and over down the polished surface to the ground. Seeing them at this game, Jahandar Shah must needs do the same! It should be remembered that he was at this time, not a youth, but a man over fifty years of age.†

Nightly the low musicians gathered at the palace to drink in the Emperor's company. When these men became drunk they would kick and cuff Jahandar Shah and shout in a drunken way. Jahandar Shah, in spite of his long experience of the world, and all the training he had received from his grandfather and father, bore with these insults for fear of offending Lal Kunwar.‡ As for things forbidden by the Law, there was

* Shaikh Nasir-ud-din Mahmud Oudhi, Chiragh-i-Dihli, (a Chishti), grandson of Abdul-latif Yazdi. His father Yahya, a Husaini Sayyid, was born at Lahor. The Shaikh was born in Oudh, and died 18th Ramzan 757 H. (14th Sept. 1359), though some say the 13th (9th Sept.) is correct. Another authority has 752 H. (1351-2). The shrine lies about 7 miles south of new Dihli (Shahjahanabad), *Khazinat-ul-asfiya*, i. 353.

† Khush-hal Chand, 390*a*; Iradat Khan in J. Scott, ii. part iv, 82,83. Also as to the bathing see Kamwar Khan, 120, and Kamraj *Ibratnama*, 46*b*. Muhammad Qasim Aurangabadi, in *Ahval-ul-khawaqin*, *fol*. 46*b*, has another version of the Qutb story, where a rocking stone near the shrine is rocked.

‡ This story is also in the Dutch diary, where it is assigned to the 17th July 1712, Valentyn, iv. 298.

no longer any restraint ; and the habits of the Court becoming known, all respect for, or fear of, the sovereign ceased. When the Emperor went abroad to hunt or for recreation, not a single noble attended, nor was he followed by any armed force. [Kamwar, 120.]

Zulfiqar Khan, the *Wazir,* imitated his master's example and devolved his duties on a favourite Hindu subordinate, Sabha Chand, a Khatri, lately made a Rajah, a man whose harshness and bad temper were notorious. Zulfiqar Khan's former liberality was changed into niggardliness, he hindered men in their promotion instead of helping them, and the falsity of his promises and assurances became a bye-word. Partisans as well as opponents were dissatisfied with him. In short, as the Eastern saying runs, 'As the king, so the Wazir,' or as we English say, 'Like master, like man.'

To add to the other sources of weakness and disorder, a feud arose between Zulfiqar Khan, the chief minister, and Ali Murad Khan Jahan Kokaltash Khan, foster-brother of the Emperor and now *Amir-ul-umara,* or second minister. For forty years, ever since they were children together, Jahandar Shah had been promising Ali Murad that when he succeeded to the throne he, his foster-brother, should be his Wazir. Khan Jahan, and more especially his female relations, resented his supersession by Zulfiqar Khan, although under the circumstances of the case, such supersession was obviously unavoidable. In their jealousy of each other, whatever was proposed by the one was opposed by the other. Contrary to the Wazir's advice, Khan Dauran, Khan Jahan's brother-in-law, was sent in command of the troops against Farrukh-siyar. In the same way, Sarbuland Khan was presented through Khan Jahan and appointed to a governorship, acts which lay solely within the competence of the chief minister. It was while the central Government at Dihli was in this disorganized condition that a claimant to the throne appeared in the person of Muhammad Farrukh-siyar, the second but eldest surviving son of the late Azim-ush-shan, and to his story we must now turn our attention.*

* Yahya Khan, 119*a*, says the news of Farrukh-siyar's advance was

SEC. 7.—MUHAMMAD FARRUKH-SIYAR, HIS EARLY HISTORY, AND ARRIVAL AT PATNA.

Muhammad Farrukh-siyar, the second son of Azim-ush-shan, was born at Aurangabad in the Dakhin, on the 9th Ramzan 1094 H. (11th Sept. 1683); and was now in his thirty-first (lunar) year. In his infancy he was sent to Dihli, but brought back to the Dakhin in 1105 H. (Sept. 1693—August, 1694), in his tenth year; and after three years spent with his great-grandfather, Alamgir, he accompanied his father, Azim-ush-shan first to Agra and thence to Bengal. In the last year of his reign, Alamgir recalled his grandson, Azim-ush-shan, from Bengal, giving him orders to leave his eldest son, Muhammad Karim, in charge of Bihar and his second son, Farrukh-siyar, in Bengal. The young Prince passed some years at Dacca, then the capital of the Bengal province; but in the reign of Bahadur Shah (1707-1712), he moved to Murshidabad, where he occupied the palace in Lal Bagh. He subsequently moved to Raj Mahal, higher up and on the other side of the Ganges. Azim-ush-shan, anticipating a struggle for the throne at an early date, called on Farrukh-siyar to return to Court. Bengal had been made over to Izz-ud-daulah, Khan Alam (son of Khan Jahan Kokaltash Alamgiri). Farrukh-siyar was on the march and not far from Azimabad Patna, when on the 7th Safar 1124 H. (15th March 1712) he heard of Bahadur Shah's death, and on the 13th (21st March), without waiting for further information, he proclaimed his father's accession and caused coin to be stamped and the public prayer or *khutba* to be read in his name. He decided to march no further. Some say that astrologers, on whom he placed great reliance, had prophesied his accession to the throne at Patna and advised him not to leave it until that happy event had occurred. On the 29th Safar (6th April 1712) he heard of his father's defeat and death. For a little time the Prince contemplated suicide, but his friends dissuaded him, some counselling a retreat upon Bengal, others an advance into the Dakhin. One rumour which reached Dihli was that

---

received in Shawwal (31st Octr.—28th Novr. 1712). Other accounts say 'about the end of the rainy season', *i.e.* 1st—15th October.

Farrukh-siyar intended to leave Bengal and take refuge in flight by way of the sea. In the end his mother intervened and incited him to try the issue of a contest in the field.* Thereupon, with such state as he could command, he performed the ceremonies of enthronement in the *bagh* or garden known as Afzal Khan's, and proclaimed his succession to the Empire, issuing coin and causing the *khutba* to be read in his own name.†

No rasher enterprize was ever entered upon. Farrukh-siyar had been no favourite with his father and grandfather, and had been without authority or wealth during their life-time. It was only with reluctance that he had decided to obey his father's order to come to Court. He arrived at Patna with no more than four hundred followers, and there pitched his camp near the garden of Jafar Khan at the eastern extremity of the city. At first, when he came forward to claim the throne, none of the many nobles on whom Azim-ush-shan had heaped so many favours would espouse his cause. Most of them declared themselves on the side of Jahandar Shah. Murshid Quli Khan, diwan of Bengal, refused to move ; nor was this so much to be wondered at, for great jealousy had existed between him and Azim-ush-shan from the first appointment of the latter to Bengal. At attempt was made by Farrukh-siyar to supersede Murshid Quli Khan by the despatch from Patna of a new subahdar, Rashid Khan, whose fate will be recounted when we come to the history of the provinces in Farrukh-siyar's reign.‡

We have already mentioned the defection of Sarbuland Khan. He had risen to position through his connection by marriage with Azim-ush-shan. On his falling under Bahadur

* If he launched his boat on stormy waters it would, if God were gracious, reach the bank in safety. After all, what was life but a matter of a few days? Why not run the risk? (Her speech.)

† Ijad, 14*a*; 39*b*, 40*a*; Stewart, *History of Bengal*, 382; Gladwin, *Transactions*, 94; Khafi Khan, ii. 707, 708; Kamwar Khan, entry of 27th Rabi I. 1123 H.; Warid, 139*b*; Yahya Khan, 119*a*. I have heard of a curious Hindi poem, on Farrukh-siyar's advance from Patna and victory over Jahandar Shah, by Sri Dhar (alias Murli Dhar), *kabi*, of Allahabad.

‡ Khafi Khan, ii. 707, 708; Ijad, 47*b*, 51*a*; Stewart, 384; Gladwin, *Transactions*, 33. 97,98.

Shah's displeasure, Azim-ush-shan gave him refuge and made over to him Sahenda (in Bundelkhand) and other parganas of the Prince's jagir, as a means of support. The understanding between them was that if any great crisis arose, he should march at the head of three or four thousand men with a large amount of treasure that had been confided to his care. Sarbuland Khan acted in direct opposition to all his promises.* Another noble who was under equal obligations to the late Azim-ush-shan was Khan Jahan Bahadur (otherwise Izz-ud-daulah Khan Alam), son of Khan Jahan Kokaltash Alamgiri.† He was a man of the most insufferable pride, who made enemies wherever he went. In the early part of Bahadur Shah's reign he lived at Dihli without employment. When that Emperor was passing near Dihli on his return from the Dakhin, Khan Jahan was sent for to Court. Neither the Emperor nor the Princes were well disposed towards him. Wherever he turned, no smile greeted him, no brow smoothed its wrinkles. The Emperor refused even to read his petitions, owing to the disrespectful language in which they were couched. At length, Azim-ush-shan had pity on him, and after some exertion, the *subah* of Orissa was granted to him, with the office of deputy under the Prince in Bengal. This man was received in audience by Farrukh-siyar at the town of Surajgarh, in *sarkar* Farrukhabad (or Munger) of *subah* Bihar.‡ All honour was done to him. The Prince's

* His biography is in *M. U.* iii. 801. He was born c. 1085 H. (1674), and died 1154 H. (19th Jan., 1742), *T-i-Mhdi*. In the *Hadiqat-ul-aqalim*, 131, we are told that Shaikh Allahyar, the author's father, tried to persuade Sarbuland Khan that gratitude required him to join Farrukh-siyar. The author mentions a village, *Bani*, or *Topi*, in Kora, as the jagir of Azim-ush-shan, which was then in S. B. K's charge. He had been sent as naib to Bengal in the 2nd year of B. Shah. There he quarrelled with Zia-ullah Khan (son of Inayatullah Khan Kashmiri), the *diwan*, and was recalled. Then in the 3rd year of B. S. he was sent to the charge of Kora, where Azim-ush-shan had his *jagir* (B. M. *Or. No. 1690)*.

† His biography is in *M. U.* iii. 949, under his former title of Sipahdar Khan. His name was Mhd. Muhsin. B. c. 1064 H. (1653-4) d. 1130 H. (Oct. Nov. 1718).

‡ Surajgarh, a *mahal* in *sarkar* Munger (*Ain*, ii. 155), on the right bank of the Ganges 20 m.w. of Munger (Thornton, 929).

chief man, Ahmad Beg (afterwards Ghazi-ud-din Khan Ghalib Jang), was sent to escort him, a rich *khilat* was conferred on him, his sons, and his chief companions. At the time of his leaving, Khan Jahan made loud promises that he would help. But he took no steps in that direction. Then one Muhammad Raza, who had been deputy-governor in Orissa, before the appointment of Khan Jahan, went off to Akbarnagar (Rajmahal) to visit that noble on the pretence of further negotiation. In the end, on one pretext or another, neither one nor the other appeared again.* Ali Asghar Khan,† son of Kar Talab Khan Ansari, who had been made *faujdar* of Etawa (subah Agra), and Chabela Ram Nagar, then *faujdar* of Karra Manikpur, *subah* Allahabad,‡ showed no eagerness to take up the Prince's cause. There remained only the two brothers, Hasan Ali Khan (Abdullah Khan) and Husain Ali Khan, Sayyids of Barha, who owed to Azim-ush-shan the Governments of Allahabad and Bihar, which they then held. [Ijad, 59*b*—60*a* ; K. K. 715.]

SEC. 8.—ACCOUNT OF THE BARHA SAYYIDS.

The Sayyids of Barha claim to be descended from Abul-farah, of Wasit in Mesopotamia. Several hundred years ago, at a date which cannot be fixed exactly, Abul-farah and his twelve sons came from Wasit to India, settling at first in four villages near Patiala, in the *sarkar* of Sarhind and subah of Dihli. From these villages the four branches, into which they are divided, derive their names.§ Then crossing the Jamuna,

* At Dihli on the 27th September 1712 (26th Shaban 1124 H.), it was reported that Khan Jahan Bahadur and Murshid Quli Khan were marching to Patna to reinforce Azz-ud-din against Farrukh-siyar, (Valentyn, iv. 301). This report was quite unfounded.

† See *M. U.* i. 829-832, under his subsequent title of Khan Zaman B., born c. 1085 H. (1674-5), d. 4th Zul Hijja 1155 H. (29th Jan., 1743), *T-i-Mhdi.*

‡ For C. R. see *M. U.* ii. 328. Daya Bahadur was killed on Azim-ush-shan's side at Lahor in Safar 1124 H. (March 1712).

§ Chat-Banur is still a large town. Kundli has a few huts. Tihanpur is a petty hamlet, Jagner uninhabited. (Alan Cadell, *Proc. As., Soc. Bengal,* 1871, p. 261). I find Chat and Banur, two separate places in the n. e. of the Patiala territory, on sheet No. 47 of the *Indian Atlas,* the former about 16 m. n. and the latter 12 m.n.n.w. of Ambala city.

they formed a settlement on the eastern side of the upper Duaba, half way between Mirat and Saharanpur, in a sandy, unproductive piece of country, possibly at that time very sparsely inhabited. The etymology of the name *Barha* is disputed ; perhaps it is from the word *bara* (twelve), with some allusion to the number of their villages.* From the time of Akbar, the men of this clan of Sayyids were famous as military leaders, and by their bravery had acquired a traditional right to lead the vanguard of the imperial troops. Until the reign of Farrukh-siyar they seem to have been little distinguished outside the profession of arms, and judging from what we know of their descendants in the present age, they probably had little love of learning. Brave, proud, lavish, they always were ; and in our day, when their swords have been perforce beaten into pruning hooks, they have succumbed only too completely before the wily money-lender. In Muzaffarnagar many is the story current of the 'Sayyid Sahib's' reckless improvidence and ignorance of the commonest rule of business. In the 18th century a *Barha ka ahmaq*, or 'Barha blockhead', was a common saying, and there was a rhyme to the effect that all the asses there were Bahadurs, and all the Bahadurs, asses. [*S. M.* iii. 441.]

The two Sayyid brothers, who now come into such prominence, were not the mere upstarts, men of yesterday, that it was too often the fashion to make them out to be.† Besides the prestige of Sayyid lineage, of descent from the famous Barha branch of that race, and the personal renown acquired by their own valour, they were the sons of a man who had held

*There seems to be no town or village in the Sayyids' country, or connected with them, bearing the name of Barha. Sir H. M. Elliot (*Supp. Glossary*, 110) speaks of the town of Barha as one plundered by Safdar Jang in 1748. On a subject so peculiarly his own, it is dangerous to contest any of that writer's statements, but unless I am much mistaken, the place so plundered was really Marahra (now in the Etah district), which lay in the course of Safdar Jang's march from Dihli to Farrukhabad, and also contains a well-known colony of Sayyids. Elphinstone (4th ed. p. 650) makes the same mistake. The *Siyar-ul-mutakherin*, Calcutta printed text, ii. 32; has, however, *Marahra* plainly enough. The error, no doubt, began with Mustapha, *Siyar*, iii. 83, who reads "Barr."

† For instance, see Khafi Khan's remarks, ii. 730.

in Alamgir's reign first the subahdari of Bijapur in the Dakhin and then that of Ajmer, appointments given in that reign either to Princes of the blood or to the very foremost men in the State. Their father, Sayyid Abdullah Khan, known as Sayyid Miyan, had risen in the service of Ruhullah Khan, Alamgir's *Mir Bakhshi*, and finally, on receiving an imperial *mansab*, attached himself to the eldest Prince Muhammad Muazzam Shah Alam.

Hasan Ali Khan (afterwards Abdullah Khan Qutb-ul-mulk) and Husain Ali Khan, two of the numerous sons of Abdullah Khan Sayyid Miyan were now men of about forty-six and forty-four years of age respectively.* About 1109 H. (1697-8) the elder brother was *faujdar* of Sultanpur Nazarbar in Baglana, *subah* Khandesh, after that, of Siuni Hoshangabad also in Khandesh, then again of Nazarbar coupled with Thalner in *sarkar* Asir of the same subah. Subsequently he obtained charge of Aurangabad. The younger brother Husain Ali Khan, who is admitted by every one to have been a man of much greater energy and resolution than his elder brother, had in Alamgir's reign held charge first of Rantambhor, in subah Ajmer, and then of Hindaun Biana, in subah Agra.

After Prince Muizz-ud-din, the eldest of Shah Alam's sons, had been appointed in 1106 H. (1694-5) to the charge of the Multan province, Hasan Ali Khan and his brother followed him there. In an expedition against a refractory Biluch zamindar, the Sayyids were of opinion that the honours of the day were theirs. Muizz-ud-din thought otherwise, and assigned them to his then favourite Isa Khan Main. The Sayyids quitted the service in dudgeon and repaired to Lahor, where they lived in comparative poverty, waiting for employment from Munim Khan, the *nazim* of that place.†

---

* If, as Rieu, 783, suggests, two of the portraits in B. M. *Add. 18,800* are those of the Sayyid brothers, they were rather short men of a burly build, both with rather large heads and prominent noses, that of H. A. K. being especially beak-like. They have close-cropped beards, that of the elder brother quite white, the other's still a little black at the corners of the mouth.

† *Masir-ul-umara*, iii. 130; Khafi Khan, ii. 456; Warid, 90, 91. For Baglana see *Ain*, ii. 208 and *M.U.* i. 414. Akbar (*Ain* l. c.) placed

When Alamgir died and Shah Alam, Bahadur Shah, reached Lahor on his march to Agra to contest the throne, the Sayyids presented themselves, and their services were gladly accepted. They were (Safar 1119 H. May 1707) promoted to the rank of 3,000 and 2,000 horse, respectively, with a gift of kettle-drums. In the battle of Jajau on the 18th Rabi I. 1119 H. (18th June 1707), they served in the vanguard and fought valiantly on foot, as was the Sayyid habit on an emergency. A third brother, Nur-ud-din Ali Khan, was left dead on the field, and Husain Ali Khan was severely wounded. Though their rank was raised in Zul Qada 1119 H. (Feb. 1708) to 4,000, and the elder brother received his father's title of Abdullah Khan, they were not treated with such favour as their exceptional services seemed to deserve, either by the new Emperor or his Wazir.*

The two Sayyids managed to quarrel with Khanazad Khan, the Wazir's second son, and though the breach was healed by a visit to them from the Wazir in person, there is little doubt that this difference helped to keep them out of employment. Husain Ali Khan is also said to have offended Muizz-ud-din Jahandar Shah. The morning after the battle of Jajau, the Prince visited their quarters to condole with them on the death of their brother, Nur-ud-din Ali Khan, and in so doing launched out into praises of their valour. Husain Ali Khan met these overtures in an aggressive manner, saying that what they had done was nothing, many had done as much, their valour would be known when their lord was deserted and alone, and the strength of their right arm had seated him on the throne. Muizz-ud-din was vexed by this speech, and refrained from

---

Nazarbar in subah Malwa. It was transferred again to the Khandesh subah about 1609, *Bom. Gaz.* xii. 458, where the name is given Nandurbar. Sultanpur is a town to the n. e. of Nandurbar town, *ibid* 471. Thalner, an ancient town in Khandesh, situated on the Tapti, 28 m. n. e. of Dhulia, *ibid*, 473. Siuni and Hoshangabad are two well-known districts in the Central Provinces, *C. P. Gaz.* 206 and 468. As to Muizz-ud-din's dealings with the Biloch tribes, see *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 432 (year 1112 H.), *ibid*, 470, (year 1114 H.); Khafi Khan, ii. 462,463; Khush-hal Chand, 392*a*; Warid, pp. 86-88 (my copy, episodical account introduced in reign of Mhd. Shah). Also *M. U.* i. 825,826, under Khuda Yar Khan Lethi.

* Khafi Khan, ii. 575; Kamwar Khan, 20; *M. U.* i. 321, iii. 130.

making any recommendation to his father in their favour. Nay, he did his best to prevent their obtaining lucrative employment, and we read of their being obliged to rely upon the Emperor's bounty for their travelling expenses, which were necessarily great, as they were kept in attendance on the Court while it was constantly on the march.*

In Shaban 1120 H. (Oct. 1708) Abdullah Khan had been named to the subah of Ajmer, then in a disturbed state owing to the Rajput rising, a condition of things with which Sayyid Shujaat Khan seemed hardly capable of dealing. Sayyid Abdullah Khan had barely more than reached Dihli, in order to raise new troops and make other preparations, when the Emperor, Bahadur Shah, changed his mind and Shujaat Khan was received again into favour and maintained in his Government. At length, by the favour of Prince Azim-ush-shan, Abdullah Khan on the 21st Zul Qada 1122 H. (10th Jan. 1711) became that Prince's deputy in the province of Allahabad. About two years earlier (11th Muharram 1120 H., 1st April 1708), the same patron had nominated the younger brother Husain Ali Khan, to represent him in another of his Governments, that of Bihar, of which the capital was at Azimabad Patna.

SEC. 9.—HUSAIN ALI KHAN ESPOUSES FARRUKH-SIYAR'S CAUSE.

When Farrukh-siyar first arrived at Azimabad, Husain Ali Khan was away on an expedition, apparently the recapture of Ruhtas fort, which about this time had been seized by one Muhammad Raza, Rayat Khan. The Sayyid had felt annoyed on hearing that Farrukh-siyar had issued coin and caused the *Khutba* to be read in his father, Azim-ush-shan's, name, without waiting to learn the result of the impending struggle at Lahor. Thus on his return to his head-quarters his first impulse was to decline altogether that Prince's overtures. In truth, no attempt could well look more hopeless than that upon which Farrukh-siyar wished to enter. The Prince's mother now hazarded a

* *Akhbarat* or news-letters, dated 24th Zul Hijja 1119 H. (16th March 1708); Tod MSS. in Royal Asiatic Society's Library, (Morley, cxxxiii), Warid, 91.

private visit to the Sayyid's mother, taking with her her little grand-daughter.* Her arguments rested on the fact that the Sayyid's position was due to the kindness of the Prince's father. That father, two brothers, and two uncles had been killed, and the Prince's own means were insufficient for any enterprize. Let Husain Ali Khan then choose his own course, either let him aid Farrukh-siyar to recover his rights and revenge his father's death, or else let him place the Prince in chains and send him a prisoner to Jahandar Shah. Here the Prince's mother and daughter bared their heads and wept aloud. Overcome by their tears, the Sayyida called her son within the harem. The little girl fell bare-headed at his feet and implored his aid. His mother told him that whatever was the result he would be a gainer: if defeated, his name would stand recorded as a hero till Judgment Day; if successful, the whole of Hindustan would be at their feet, and above them none but the Emperor. Finally she exclaimed, 'If you adhere to Jahandar Shah, you will have to answer before the Great Judge for disavowing your mother's claim upon you.' At these words Husain Ali Khan took up the women's veils and replaced them on their heads swearing a binding oath that he would espouse the Prince's cause. The next night Farrukh-siyar presented himself at the Khan's house, saying that he had come either to be seized and sent to Jahandar Shah, or to enter into an agreement for the recovery of the throne. The Sayyid bound himself finally to fight on Farrukh-siyar's behalf. He wrote at once to his elder brother, Abdullah Khan, at Allahabad, inviting him to join the same side, and Farrukh-siyar addressed a *farman* to him making many promises, and authorizing him to expend the Bengal treasure, then at Allahabad, on the enlistment of troops. It is quite clear that at this time, or soon afterwards, the two chief places in the Empire, those of chief minister and of first noble (*Amir-ul-umara*) were formally promised to the two brothers as their reward in case of success.†

* Probably this is the girl who, when she grew up, became Mhd. Shah's consort and at his death in 1161 H. (1748) showed considerable judgment and resolution in securing the throne for her husband's son, Ahmad Shah.

† Warid, 136*b*; Khafi Khan, ii. 708, 710, 711. As to Ruhtas, see Kamwar Khan, entry of 22nd Zul Hijja 1123 H. (30th Jan. 1712.)

SEC. 10. ABDULLAH KHAN, ON BEING SUPERSEDED AT ALLAHABAD, GIVES IN HIS ADHESION TO FARRUKH-SIYAR.

At first Abdullah Khan's intention was to submit to Jahandar Shah, the *de facto* Emperor, to whom he sent letters professing his loyalty and offering his services. Three months before the death of Bahadur Shah, he had gone out towards Jaunpur to restore order. In this he was not successful and the pay of his soldiers fell into arrears. The men raised a disturbance, and Abdullah Khan's only anxiety was to escape from them and take shelter within the fort of Allahabad. He promised publicly that as soon as he reached the city, all the collections then in the hands of his agents should be made over to the troops. On the return march, word came of Bahadur Shah's death. [Warid, 138*b*.]

A few days before his arrival at Allahabad, Shuja-ud-din Khan, son-in-law of Murshid Quli Khan, *diwan* of Bengal, had reached that place with one *kror* of Rupees (about £1,000,000),* the annual remittance from that province to the imperial treasury. Hearing of the late Emperor's death, the envoy halted at Allahabad in some perplexity. Abdullah Khan, at his second interview with Shuja-ud-din Khan, impressed on him the danger of keeping such a large amount of treasure in camp outside a turbulent city; it ought to be removed to a place of safety within the fort, and when the succession was settled, it could be made over to the Prince who gained the day. Shuja-ud-din Khan yielded to this specious advice, and Abdullah Khan, as soon as he was master of the coin, used it to pay the arrears of his soldiers. [Warid 138*b*, K. K. 711.]

While Abdullah Khan was still in expectation of a favourable reply to his letter to Jahandar Shah, he was surprised to learn that his Government had been taken from him, and that the deputy of the new governor was on his way to take possession. The province had been granted to a Gardezi Sayyid of Manikpur,

* Khafi Khan, ii. 715, puts the sum at 28 *lakhs* of Rupees (£280,000). Shuja-ud-daulah, Shuja-ud-din Mhd. Khan, died as subahdar of Bengal on the 17th Muharram 1152 H. (25th April, 1739), aged nearly 80 years (*T-i-Mhdi.*).

subah Allahabad, one Raji Muhammad Khan,* who had risen to notice in the recent fighting at Lahor, and through the reputation thereby acquired had been appointed *Mir Atash*, or general of artillery. The new governor nominated as his deputy his relation, one Sayyid Abdul-ghaffar (a descendant of Sayyid Sadar Jahan, *Sadar-us-sadur*, Pihanwi).†

Abdul-ghaffar obtained contingents from one or two zamindars and collected altogether 6,000 to 7,000 men. When he drew near to Karra Manikpur, Abul-hasan Khan, a Sayyid of Bijapur, who was Abdullah Khan's *Bakhshi*, advanced at the head of 3,000 men to bar his progress. In the end of Jamadi II. 1124 H. (29th=2nd August, 1712) they met at a little distance from Sarai Alam Chand,‡ and encamping four or five miles from each other, they passed some days in fruitless negotiations. Then Abdul-ghaffar prepared his men and sent forward his artillery. It so happened that the very same day Saif-ud-din Ali Khan, Siraj-ud-din Ali Khan, and Najm-ud-din Ali Khan, younger brothers of Abdullah Khan, and Ratan Chand, his *diwan* or chief financial agent, arrived with a reinforcement of four hundred horsemen. Although some of the Sayyids rode out to the front, Abdul-ghaffar could not be tempted into attacking them. At length, when the opposing forces were at the distance of a musket shot from each other, Abdul-ghaffar discharged a volley from all his cannon and without an instant's delay ordered his

* *Gardezi*, see Elliot, *Supp. Gloss.*, 447; Gardez is situated in the Bangashat, not far from Kohat, *Ain*, ii. 407 note 2. Raji Mhd. Khan first entered the service through Munim Khan, Khan Khanan. Kamraj, *Ibratnama*, calls him Husam-ud-din, who had been made Sayyid Raji Khan Bahadur Dilawar Jang. Abdul-ghaffar is there called his *brother*.

† Blochmann, *Ain* i. 208, 468. Pihani, a village near Qanauj or Lakhnau; Sadar Jahan was Akbar's *Sadar* in the 34th year (about 1589). He died in 1020 H. (1611-12) in Jahangir's reign; he was said to be 120 years of age, Beale, 229; *M. U.* iii. 348. Pihani is now in the Hardoi district, *Oudh Gaz*. iii. 160.

‡ Khafi Khan, ii. 712, spells the name Abul-muhsin Khan, and says he was originally from Najaf, the Holy. On the same page the month is Jamadi I. instead of II. Manikpur and Karra are both on the Ganges, the former about 45 and the latter about 39 m. n. w. of Allahabad. Sarai Alam Chand is 20 m. n. w. of the same place.

horsemen[a] to charge. Despite their well-known bravery, the Barha Sayyids gave way, many were killed and wounded, the rest fled. Only the three Barha brothers with Abul-hasan Khan and Ratan Chand stood fast at the head of four hundred men. In a short time many of Abdul-ghaffar's soldiers dispersed in search of plunder, but he kept together enough of them to surround the Sayyids. They now came to close quarters: when Siraj-ud-din Ali Khan with many others was cut down and killed. A high wind blew up the dust and it soon became impossible to distinguish officer from soldier, white from black, friend from foe. Suddenly there arose cries that Sayyid Abdul-ghaffar was slain.* The Barha Sayyid's drums and trumpets striking up a joyful march, the other side lost heart and turned for flight. In vain Abdul-ghaffar shouted, 'I am here! I am alive!' No one listened, and the day so nearly won was irremediably lost. Abdul-ghaffar withdrew his shattered force to Shahzadpur, one march to the rear.†

When it was too late, Jahandar Shah saw his error and endeavoured to propitiate Abdullah Khan. Promotion from 4,000 *zat* to 6,000 *zat* was offered, with confirmation in the Government of Allahabad in his own name. The fulsome heaping-up of titles in the letter addressed to Abdullah Khan is some indication of Jahandar Shah's consternation at the turn affairs had taken. Abdul-ghaffar was thrown overboard, and the letter to him is couched in terms which might have been addressed to a rebel, instead of to a man who had been trying to carry out faithfully the orders that he had received. It was too late, however, and in vain was this humiliating attitude assumed. Abdullah Khan, disgusted at the treatment he had received, had already thrown in his lot with Farrukh-siyar.‡

* It was really his brother who was killed (*Siwanih-i-Khizri*, 24). Khizr Khan was present.

† Khafi Khan, ii. 692, and 712; Khizr Khan, 24; *Masir-ul-umara*, iii. 132. Shahzadpur is on the Ganges about 35 miles n. w. of Allahabad.

‡ Khafi Khan, ii. 714. For the letters of Jahandar Shah, see *Inshae Madhu Ram* (lithographed) pp. 85,86. This compilation was put together in 1136 H. (1723-4).

SEC. 11.—FARRUKH-SIYAR LEAVES PATNA AND REACHES ALLAHABAD.

After Husain Ali Khan had declared himself, there were other important adhesions to Farrukh-siyar's cause. From the first Ahmad Beg, a man long attached to the family, had been particularly active and useful in obtaining adherents ; he was now made Ghazi-ud-din Khan Ghalib Jang, and as some say received a promise of the wazirship.* One of the most notable of these accessions was that of Sidisht [=Sudhisht] Narayan, son of Dhir, a powerful zamindar of the Bhojpur country in Shahabad.† The Ujainiya clan to which he belonged had long claimed practical independence and had never paid its revenue unless upon compulsion. In the reign of Alamgir, Rajah Rudar, descended in the fifth generation from the first Ujainiya Rajah of Bhojpur, had risen to notoriety and was joined by most of the neighbouring zamindars. In consequence of his rebellion against constituted authority he was deposed, and the chiefship given to his brother, ancestor of the present Jagdispur and Dumraon houses in that pargana. During Alamgir's long absence in the Dakhin, the governors and faujdars left the zamindars alone. Dhir, a distant cousin of the Rajah, descended in the sixth generation from the same ancestor, used this opportunity, seized many zamindaris, and maintained a force of about 14,000 horse and 30,000 foot. When Prince Azim-ush-shan was governor at Patna, this zamindar attended his Court. A settlement had nearly been effected when Dhir became alarmed and escaped. Rajah Dhir died

* Yahya Khan, 119*b*, and see biography in *M. U.* ii. 869. A man was introduced by him, whose name I read as Masl (or perhaps Fazl) Khan (Ijad, 41*b*), who was made Azam Khan and first *Bakhshi*. But he was superseded by the Sayyids and Khwaja Asim (Khan Dauran) almost as soon as appointed; his appointment as Bakhshi was taken away on the 15th Zul Qada (13th Dec., 1712) and I know not what became of him.

† Dhir (b. 1655, d. 1712) held as his ancestral fief Baranwa in pargana Piru, sarkar Shahabad (Piru town is about 32 m. s. e. of Arra). On the 11th April 1715 O. S. the English envoys on passing through Arwal (a town about 40 m. s. w. of Patna, in Thana Jahanabad of the Gaya district, and close to the bank of the Son) remark 'this is the place where Sedisti Naran has a strong fort and good guard'. Piru is about 20 m. w. of Arwal and on the other side of the Son.

of fever in the year 1712. Sidisht Narayan, his second but eldest surviving son, who had only recently succeeded, had already begun a dispute with Husain Ali Khan's subordinates. To enforce his claims he had come with a large armed force and was encamped at Hajipur, on the further side of the Ganges from Patna city. He talked of plundering the country. Ahmad Beg was sent to him to induce him either to offer his services or retire from the position he had taken up. Ahmad Beg's eloquence persuaded him to accept service, bringing with him 10,000 horse and 30,000 matchlockmen. [Ijad 61*a*, 63*b* ; K. K. 712.]

Khwaja Asim, who had escaped in safety from the battle-field at Lahor on the day when Prince Azim-ush-shan lost his life, now joined Farrukh-siyar at Patna after a short time spent at his home in Agra. He was at once received into the old position of favour which he had held before he had been recalled from Bengal by Azim-ush-shan. He received the title of Ashraf Khan, was made superintendent of the privy audience chamber, and for a time held in addition the command of the artillery. Saf Shikan Khan (Hasan Beg), deputy governor of Orissa, also threw in his lot with Farrukh-siyar, and Mir Mushrif, a Lakhnau Sayyid, joined with some four thousand horsemen belonging to his own tribe. Another new adherent was Zain-ud-din Khan, son of Ghairat Khan and grandson of Bahadur Khan Daudzai,* of Shahjahanpur in Rohilkhand, followed by four thousand brother Pathans.† Money was the

* For Bahadur Khan Daudzai, the founder of Shahjahanpur, see *M. U.* i. 415. He left seven sons, of whom only two, Dilawar Khan and Aziz Khan Chaghatai, are there named. In *T-i-Mhdi*, year 1138 H., we have the genealogy stated thus :—

Darya Khan, d. 1040 H. (1630-31).
|
Bahadur Khan, d. 1059 H. (1649-50).
|
Ghairat Khan.
|
Zain-ud-din Khan, killed 1124 H. (1713).
|
Bahadur Khan, killed 1138 H. (1725-6).

† As to Zain-ud-din Khan, his mad doings and rough mode of forcing money out of Fath Mamur Khan's widow at Shahabad (Oudh), see *Akhbar-*

great want. Partial relief was afforded by the seizure *en route* of a convoy of 25 or 30 *lakhs* of Rupees, which had reached Patna on its way from Bengal to Dihli.* Requisitions in kind were also imposed on the traders in the city. The amount realized was two or three *lakhs* of Rupees. Some money, estimated at from half a *lakh* to five *lakhs* of Rupees, was obtained by the seizure of the Dutch Company's goods, their factor at Patna, Jacob van Hoorn, having died there in July 1712. Even stronger measures were resorted to. There was one Surat Singh Khatri, the chief official of Nasir Khan, deputy governor of Kabul, who had accumulated great wealth. At this time having determined on sending his treasures to Dihli, he had hired fifty or sixty bullock carriages and loaded them with all his property, giving out that the carts were occupied by a party of his women and children with their female servants. They were guarded by a hired force of five hundred matchlock-men, and were halting for the night in a certain mansion. During the night the guard was absent. The house was attacked, the goods were plundered, and distributed among Farrukh-siyar's soldiers.†

At length on the 17th Shaban 1124 H. (18th September 1712), Farrukh-siyar's advance tents were sent off from Patna. Four days later he started himself at the head of 25,000 men. After a halt of six days he reached Danapur on the 28th (29th September). On the 4th Ramzan (4th October) he moved to Sherpur, thence to Matoli ; on the 12th (12th October) Husain Ali Khan arrived from Patna. Next day they reached the banks of the Son, which was still much swollen by rain. With the help of Sidisht Narayan and by the special exertions of Ahmad Beg Koka, a boat bridge was thrown across, and on the 17th Ramzan (17th October) they crossed to Sitara. Further stages were Khatoli (20th), Suri (21st), Mahadeo (22nd), Jaipur (23rd), the last two being places in pargana Sahasram, then on the 24th Sahasram itself was reached. Khurramabad

---

i-Muhabbat, my copy, 274. That work says he joined Farrukh-siyar west of Allahabad.

* Khafi Khan, ii. 715, states the sum as 75 lakhs.

† Ijad, 66*a*, 66*b*; Khafi Khan, ii. 715; Valentyn, iv. 299.

was arrived at on the 25th, Mohani (26th), Salot (27th), Sarai Said Rajah (28th), Sarai Mughul (29th), and the Ganges bank at Chota Mirzapur, opposite Banaras, on the 30th Ramzan (30th October). There was some talk of levying a contribution on the rich men of that city, but through one Rai Kirpa Nath they were excused, on condition of sending money after a few days. This forced loan, amounting to one *lakh* of Rupees, was received by the Prince when he arrived at Allahabad.

After one day's rest the march was continued through Sarai Mohan, Sarai Babu, Sarai Jagdis to Jhusi. Sayyid Abdullah Khan had pitched a camp at Jhusi a week before, and had been there in person for two or three days. On the 6th Shawwal (5th Nov. 1712) he arrived in the imperial camp and was received in audience. Formal engagements were entered into through Khwaja Asim Ashraf Khan, by which the post of *Wazir* was accorded to Abdullah Khan and that of *Amir-ul-umara* to Husain Ali Khan. Before leaving Jhusi a blessing on their arms was besought at the shrine of the holy man, Shaikh Taqi.* On the 13th Shawwal (12th Nov. 1712) the whole army crossed the Ganges by a bridge of boats and encamped between the old and the new city of Allahabad, and next day moved a little farther on to Sipahdarganj. Here we will leave Farrukh-siyar and turn to the movements of Prince Azz-ud-din.†

SEC. 12.—PRINCE AZZ-UD-DIN'S ADVANCE TO KHAJWA, HIS DEFEAT AND FLIGHT TO AGRA.

When Jahandar Shah heard of the defeat of Abdul-ghaffar, the defection of Abdullah Khan, and the march westwards of

* Sayyid Sadar-ul-haq, surnamed Taqi-ud-din Muhammad, Abul-Akbar, son of Shaban-ul-millat, was born at Jhusi in 720 H. (1320-1) and died there on the 7th Zul Hijja 785 H. (31st January 1384).—*Mamba-ul-ansab*, B.M. Or. *2014*, *fols*. 70-72.

† Ijad, 66*a*, 72, 73, 74, 75 ; Khafi Khan, ii. 711, 715. B. M. 1690, *fol.* 100*b*, says they reached Allahabad on the 10th Shawwal (9th Nov.). The distances as measured on the *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 88, are Sarai Mohan 8½ m., Sarai Babu, 18 m., Sarai Jagdis, 18½ m., Jhusi, 38 m., total 83 miles. Sipahdarganj was probably so named after Sipahdar Khan (see *ante* p. 173, n. 4), who was governor of Allahabad from the 37th to the 41st of Alamgir, 1104 H.—1108 H., 1692-1696, *M.U.*, iii. 591. Possibly the Subahdarganj on

Farrukh-siyar, he sent urgent orders to his son Azz-ud-din to move onwards from Agra, in the neighbourhood of which he had lingered. The Prince was not well pleased at his supercession in the supreme command, and furthermore was far from friendly to his father's favourite, Lal Kunwar. These causes may have led him to conduct the enterprize in the half-hearted way which was so soon to result in disaster. Nor could much reliance be placed on the leaders of his troops, some of whom were found, so early as the 1st Rajab (3rd August 1712) to be in traitrous communication with the enemy. From intercepted letters it was found that seven artillery officers had offered to go over to Farrukh-siyar followed by many other officers and twenty thousand men. The ringleaders were seized and thrown into prison ; but disaffection pervaded the entire army, their pay being much in arrear. This force, numbering some 50,000 horsemen,* accompanied by powerful artillery, now set out on the march towards Allahabad. On the day that they reached the Etawa boundary, the faujdar of that place, the Ali Asghar Khan already referred to, appeared, and to gain time entered into negotiations. The imperial leaders demanded from him the revenue of the current year, which owing to the contested succession, had not been collected. They also called for the accounts of previous years. These demands, which in Azz-ud-din's own interests were very inopportune, were evaded by the faujdar with excuses founded on the revenue rules and by pleas about his accounts. This dispute continued from stage to stage until on the 2nd Shawwal 1124 H. (1st November 1712) they arrived near Kora.†

At Kora they were met by Mahta Chabela Ram, faujdar of Chakla Karra Manikpur,‡ and as already noted, a protégé of Farrukh-siyar's house. Pressure was put upon Chabela Ram, but he refused Azz-ud-din's overtures. He was tempted with

---

plate 44 of Constable's *Hand Atlas* is a corruption of this name. It lies one mile west of the Khusru Bagh and just south of the E. I. Railway.

* Yahya Khan, 120*a*, asserts that Azz-ud-din's force was really no larger than one sent as an escort.

† Khafi Khan, ii. 715; Ijad, 70*b*; Valentyn, iv., 299.

‡ Or, as Ijad says, of Kora.

an offer of a *mansab* of 3,000 *zat*, 2,000 horse, the title of Rajah, robes of honour, a standard and kettle-drums (the last three having been brought with the Prince from Dihli). After this offer was refused, they demanded all the treasure which had come from Bengal and all the money in the imperial chest. Chabela Ram prevaricated and ceased his visits. Much disconcerted at this failure, Azz-ud-din continued his route. The faujdars followed with their own troops, march by march, but pitched their camps two miles or more from the main army. It was now quite obvious to the Prince's advisers that Chabela Ram would seize the earliest opportunity to make his escape. Accordingly, when they were at Khajwa, Lutfullah Khan (then known as Sarfaraz Khan) was sent at the head of their best troops with a request that Chabela Ram would move his camp close to theirs, or that, in compliance with a written order from Jahandar Shah, then first produced, he should march into Oudh, to which Government he was thereby appointed. Chabela Ram accepted the second alternative. Next day, giving out that he wished to bathe in the Ganges, and would thence continue his road to Oudh, he moved to the river bank at the Khamsara ferry, some five miles from Khajwa. He was still trying to find out the easiest road to Allahabad, when spies brought word that Farrukh-siyar's camp was not further off than two or three marches, and the news was to him "as a rain cloud to a thirsty man in a desert." At early dawn he made a forced march and soon joined Frrukh-siyar.* Chabela Ram and his nephew, Mahta Girdhar Lal, were received with honour, their offerings accepted, and gifts conferred on them. ,Ali Asghar Khan, too, who had been watching for a chance of escaping, joined Farrukh-siyar at Kunwarpur a few days after Chabela Ram, and shortly afterwards, on payment of five lakhs of Rupees, was made Khan Zaman.

Chabela Ram's arrival was most opportune, and from the money in his possession, he now began to advance fifteen thousand Rupees a day. Farrukh-siyar also borrowed from

---

* B. M. 1690, *fol.* 160*b*, says he joined at Bindki. According to Ijad, 80*a*, the camp was there on the 24th Shawwal (23rd Nov. 1712).

some merchants of Bengal and Patna, who joined the camp and travelled with it, the terms being *sawai*, or a return of the principal and 25 per cent., plus promises of titles and rank. The Prince's troops had been in great distress on the march. His leaders, nay he himself, only received every now and then a little *khichri*, (a poor man's dish, made of pulse and spices), and the day that they got this food was counted as a festival (*Id*). The common soldiers lived on what they could pick up in the fields, such as green leaves (*saq*), pumpkins (*kaddu*) and the like. The horses got little or no grass or grain.*

Towards the end of Shawwal (29th-28th November 1712), while Farrukh-siyar was still at a distance of thirteen or fourteen *kos*, Azz-ud-din proceeded to throw up entrenchments at Khajwa. Being the site of Alamgir's victory over Shuja in January, 1659, this place was looked on as one of good omen. The ditch that they dug round their position was some fifteen feet wide and ten feet deep, but without water. The earth dug out was thrown up in the inner side, forming a protection of about the height of a man. On this earthwork guns were placed and one large mortar. The approaches were so defended, that they believed it quite impossible for any enemy to reach those inside. Their intention was to keep within cover, and if an attack were made, to reply by artillery fire alone.†

During this time Farrukh-siyar continued his advance from Allahabad. His force is variously estimated: some putting it at 25,000 horse, some at 50,000 horse and 70,000 foot. He reached Sarai Choli on the 19th Shawwal (18th November 1712), was at Hathganw on the 20th, Amratu on the 21st, Sarai Manda on the 22nd, Cheda Abunagar on the 23rd, Kunwarpur on the 24th, and Roshanabad on the 25th. Here he learnt that the enemy were entrenched at Khajwa, at a distance of about five miles. Next day they advanced to Aqilabad. Here a new adherent appeared in the person of Muhammad Khan Bangash, at the

* Ijad, 71*a*; Khafi Khan, ii. 716; Khush-hal Chand, 391*b*; Yahya Khan 120*a*. The straits for money in which Farrukh-siyar was can be seen from his short private notes to Chabela Ram in *Ajaib-ul-afak* (B. M., *Or. 1776*) *fol.* 19*b*, 29*b*, etc.

† Ijad, 77*a*; Khafi Khan, ii. 698, 716; Elphinstone, 530.

head of 4,000 or 5,000 horsemen, chiefly Afghans. For some years this man, a native of Mau on the Ganges, in pargana Shamsabad of the Agra *subah*, had lived as a soldier of fortune in Bundelkhand, hiring out himself and his men, first to one and then to another of the large zamindars, between whom there raged interminable quarrels about their lands and their boundaries. Muhammad Khan changed sides as often as he thought it of advantage to himself. Lately he had presented himself in Prince Azz-ud-din's camp, in the hope of employment and reward. Disgusted with what he saw there, he felt it more prudent to transfer his services, and now joined Farrukh-siyar. He was presented through Sayyid Abdullah Khan and taken into the Prince's service.*

From Roshanabad, on the 25th Shawwal 1124 H. (24th November 1712), Abdullah Khan and Husain Ali Khan were sent on in advance to reconnoitre. If they found a convenient point they were to deliver an assault. The entrenchment was to be surrounded on all sides and a heavy fire of artillery directed on it. Farrukh-siyar was in favour of an immediate attack, Abdullah Khan counselled prudence while, as yet, the respective strength of the two sides had not been tested. The two Sayyids rode on, intending to take note of the position, until they were close to the ditch. No sally was made ; they were not even fired upon ; and they examined the position at leisure. During the night a disposition of the attacking force was made under the orders of Sayyid Abdullah Khan, Sayyid Husain Ali Khan, Amir Khan, Fath Ali Khan and Bahadur Khan (Zain-ud-din). Their cannon were placed in readiness behind the shelter of the mud walls in the neighbouring villages. On the left of Farrukh-siyar's army, positions were allotted to Ashraf Khan (Khwaja Asim), Mahta Chabela Ram, Afrasyab Khan, and other leaders of the Wala-shahi (or household) troops. Four hundred camels belonging to the other side were captured at the outposts and brought in.†

* Khafi Khan, ii. 715; Ijad, 776; Khush-hal Chand, 392*a*. Hathganw is about 19 m., Sarai Manda about 11½ m. east of Fathpur; Cheda Abunagar I identify (thanks to my friend Mr. C. Rustomjee, C. S.) as a suburb of Fathpur itself. The other places are not traced.

† Ijad, 78*b*, 79*a*; Khafi Khan, 699, 716.

On the 26th Shawwal (25th November 1712), Farrukh-siyar's main camp moved on half a mile to Aqilabad. During the day the position of Azz-ud-din was assailed by matchlock and rocket-fire, to which his cannon replied. On the 27th another short move was made and the same distant fight was maintained. Again on the 28th (27th Nov.) there was a march to Bindki, and on this date one Haiya Khan, grandson of Hamid Khan Qureshi, deserted from the other side, and was rewarded with his great-grandfather's title of Daud Khan.*

During the 28th Shawwal the distant attack was kept up and even rendered more severe. Early the next morning, the 29th, was fixed for the final assault. But during the night between the 28th and the 29th Shawwal (28th Nov. 1712), Khwaja Husain Khan Dauran, and Lutfullah Khan took counsel together, and to their timid minds no other idea presented itself except flight. That seemed to them the only way out of the difficulty. The Prince refused to move, and remonstrated in these terms: 'O Nawab! thou art like an uncle to me, and yet givest me advice to flee! How strange this is; for I have never heard until now that any one of Taimur's House has fled without a battle. We are in sight of the enemy: we ought not to retreat without a fight.' Khan Dauran, finding that his proposal was rejected, prepared forged letters, bearing the seals of Imtiyaz Mahal (*i.e.*, Lal Kunwar) and Kokaltash Khan, to the effect that the Emperor was dead, that they had kept the body and allowed no one to know the truth; thus, if the Prince came quickly, he would secure the throne. This device had the desired effect.

A little after midnight, one or two caskets having been filled with the most valuable jewels and some gold coins collected, Azz-ud-din, his wife Sayyid Begam, daughter of Bidar Bakht, and her women, were brought out and placed on elephants in covered canopies. A few special adherents joined them. No baggage was taken with them; even the treasure chests were left behind.† With all the signs of intense fright,

* Ijad, 80*a*. For Daud Khan Qureshi, see *M. U.* ii. 32, and for Hamid Khan, his son, *ibid* ii. 37.

† Kamwar Khan, 122, asserts that even the women were left behind.

they took their way back to Agra, which they reached in about a week. All their camp equipage and other wealth was left behind to be plundered. When morning dawned, consternation fell upon the abandoned soldiers, flight was their only thought, and many did not even take time to saddle their horses or gather up the most necessary articles.*

When word was brought to Farrukh-siyar's camp, his men streamed out like so many hungry hawks, to plunder and take possession. Men who had not known how to provide for one day's food, became suddenly masters of great wealth. The women's clothes left behind were so many, it is said, as to weary out those who were sent to count them. Farrukh-siyar's camp was now moved close to Khajwa. A pursuit was proposed, but countermanded by Farrukh-siyar. Of the property of the fugitives each man was told to keep what he had been able to seize. Eleven elephants were set aside to be afterwards given as presents. During a two days' halt at Khajwa some more men of note from the opposite side arrived to tender their submission, among them Sayyid Muzaffar Khan, maternal uncle of Abdullah Khan, Sayyid Hasan Khan (son of Sayyid Husain Khan) and Sayyid Mustafa Husain (grandson of Sayyid Qutb Nagori). Lutfullah Khan also seems to have taken advantage of the first opportunity to abandon Azz-ud-din and make his peace with Farrukh-siyar.†

SEC. 13.—JAHANDAR SHAH LEAVES DIHLI FOR AGRA.

On the night of the 4th Zul Qada (2nd December 1712) messengers brought to Jahandar Shah at Dihli unwelcome news of Azz-ud-din's flight from Khajwa. It was at once decided to march from the capital to meet the danger. Many thought it would be wiser to await the enemy at Tughlaqabad, eight miles south of Shahjahanabad, or New Dihli. These views did not, however, prevail and a march to Agra was resolved upon. Strenuous efforts were made to put matters into

---

* Ijad, 80*b*; Khafi Khan, 699, 717; Yahya Khan, 120, *a*, *b*.

† Khafi Khan, 699, 717; Kamwar Khan, 122; Khush-hal Chand, 392*a*. Muzaffar Khan afterwards Sayyid Khan Jahan, Barha, d. 1131 H. (1719).

order and to collect an army. But during the preceding eleven months everything had been allowed to fall into confusion, and during the whole of this time the troops had not seen the sight of a coin. An attempt was now made to pay them, and to provide the necessary *matériel* and equipage for a campaign. Most of the treasure, amassed in previous reigns and stored within the fort at Dihli, had been expended in frivolous festivities. As one writer complains, the money had been spent in lamps and oil for a weekly illumination of the fort and river banks. Meanwhile, the zamindars, taking advantage of the disputed succession, had evaded the payment of revenue, and the officials, uncertain of their future position, neglected to coerce them and made many excuses.

Such small amount of money as there was in the treasury was soon spent. Gold vessels collected in the palace from the time of Akbar were next broken up and used, and such fragments of gold and silver as could be found in any of the imperial workshops were appropriated. Warid, the historian, saw the process with his own eyes. All jewelled articles were next taken, and then the jewels themselves ; after this, the clothes, carpets, and hangings were removed. As there was still a deficiency, the ceilings of the palace rooms, which were plated with gold, were broken up and distributed to the men. Nothing else now remaining, the store-houses were thrown open and the goods distributed in place of cash.* A crowd assembled and no order was maintained. The soldiers took what they liked and paid no heed to the clerks. In a moment store-houses, full of goods which had been preserved from the time of the Emperor Babar, were emptied. Nothing was left. Still, in spite of all these efforts, the claims of many of the men were

---

* Khush-hal Chand, 392 *a*, says that his father, Jiwan Ram, was then a clerk in the *Khan-saman's* (Lord Steward's) office. In one week jewels, worth three *krors* and fifty *lakhs* of Rupees, were distributed, among them a pot (*matka*) of jasper studded with jewels, said to have belonged to Bhim, brother of Rajah Judishtar (Yudhisthira) and Arjun! It was 11 Shahjahani *dira* (yards ?) long and 7 *dira* wide! Although the dimensions are so precisely stated, I need hardly say that they should be taken *cum grano*.

unsatisfied, and they were told to wait until Agra was reached, when they would be paid from the treasure-house at that place.*

One of the first measures necessary was to provide for the immediate safety of Agra. This was undertaken by Chin Qilich Khan, son of Ghazi-ud-din Khan, and his Mughal troops. In the reign of Bahadur Shah this noble had shown dissatisfaction with the treatment accorded him, and finally had retired into private life at Dihli. In the struggle for the succession he had intended to take Azim-ush-shan's part, but withdrew in time and was saved through Asad Khan's and Abdus-samad Khan's intercession. When danger from Farrukh-siyar threatened, he was too important a man to be neglected, and Zulfiqar Khan, in spite of their old rivalry, found it expedient to make him an offer of employment. He was sent to Agra to join Prince Azz-ud-din, who had then advanced across the Jamuna beyond that place, but being a very cautious man, he thought it wiser to delay any open declaration until affairs had further developed. He therefore found excuses to linger at Agra. The Mughal leader next in importance to Chin Qilich Khan was his cousin, Muhammad Amin Khan Chin, who was now recalled from active service, in which he had been engaged in *sarkar* Sarhind against Banda, the leader of the Sikhs.†

At the end of a week arrangements had been completed. Asad Khan, the *Wakil-i-mutlaq*, was put in supreme charge of the city, Muhammad Yar Khan being made governor of the province and Ahl-ullah Khan left in charge of the fortress containing the imprisoned members of the royal house. The captivity of Hamid-ud-din Khan Alamgir-Shahi, and of Mahabat Khan, son of the late *Wazir*, was made more strict; they were now locked up in the cells at the Tripoliya (or triple gate) of the fortress. Other retainers of the Emperor's deceased brothers were sent to prison. The commands in the army were thus distributed. To the vanguard were posted Zulfiqar Khan, Kokaltash Khan (Khan Jahan) and Jani Khan Jahan-Shahi,

* Ijad, 82 *b*, 83 *a*; Warid, 140 *a*; Khush-hal Chand, 392 *a*.
† Khafi Khan, ii. 698, 716.

with strong artillery and 40,000 horsemen. Raji Muhammad Khan, general of artillery, had under his orders one hundred cannon, large and small, besides swivel-guns (*zamburak*) and camel-guns (*shutarnal*). His orders were to accompany the advanced tents. Islam Khan, Murtaza Khan, and ʿAzam Khan guarded the special artillery, detached to protect the centre, under command of Raza Quli Khan.* Muhammad Amin Khan and Abdus-samad Khan were on the right wing; Jan Nisar Khan and Mukhtar Khan on the left wing. Round the Emperor in the centre were posted Sadullah Khan, Hafizullah Khan and Bahramand Khan. Faizullah Khan Mughal was told off to guard the retinue of Lal Kunwar.†

At the time appointed by the astrologers, near midnight of the 11th Zul Qada 1124 H. (9th December, 1712), Jahandar Shah mounted his elephant and rode to his camp at Talab Kishan Das near Khizrabad, seven miles south of the city. The superstitious were cast down from the first by several accidents, which they treated as omens of coming evil. As the elephant bearing the imperial kettle-drums passed through the Dihli Gate the ropes broke, the drums fell, and were dashed to pieces; and a few days before this sinister event, the imperial umbrella, having caught on the branch of a tree, lost its fringe of pearls. In addition, from the time that Jahandar Shah set out for Agra, there were continuous clouds and rain with cold wind night and day. The cold was so intense that to the native of India to put his head outside his tent was a hardship, his blood felt frozen in his veins, and his feet were hard as if made of stone. The mist was so thick that the country round could not be seen. It need hardly be added, at any rate those acquainted with the country will know well, that these outward circumstances produced the most depressing effect upon the troops. To add to the other bad omens, came the accidental destruction by fire, in spite of the rain and cloud, of some of the imperial tents. At Khizrabad they learnt that Prince Azz-ud-din had reached Agra on the 6th of the month (4th December, 1712). Farrukh-siyar was

* Khafi Khan, ii. 718, adds the name of Sipahdar Khan.

† Nur-ud-din, 97; Kamwar Khan, 123; Khafi Khan, ii. 718.

at the same time reported to be at Etawa, though he was then really at Makhanpur.*

On the 15th Zul Qada (13th December, 1712) a move of six or seven miles was made to Tâlpat. Here the puerile expedient was hit upon of writing long appeals for aid to Rajah Ajit Singh Rathor, of Jodhpur, and the other Rajput chieftains. There was no time left for any such help ; the issue must be decided, one way or the other, long before any of the Rajputs could arrive upon the scene. On the 16th the camp was pitched at Faridabad, about sixteen miles south of the city, and two days were allowed for the arrival of stragglers. Two days were passed at Sikri. On the 21st (19th December, 1712) the army was at Palwal, and there the final muster was made. The force reported was 100,000 men, horsemen, matchlockmen, and bowmen. Their tents covered a circle of about eight miles in circumference.† By daily marches Agra was reached on the 1st Zul Hijja (29th December, 1712), and their first encampment was at Bagh Dahra, three miles south of the city. Prince Azz-ud-din came out of the city and joined his father. Churaman, the Jat, to whom many flattering promises had been made, joined with a large number of men from his own tribe. Efforts were now made to unearth the buried treasure in the fort of Agra. Many doorways were opened but nothing was found, and there was no time to conduct an effective search. Some ingots of copper were discovered, which had been lying there since Akbar began to build the fort and had prepared these copper bricks for use in the walls. These were now sold off in order to pay some of Jahandar Shah's men.‡

* Nur-ud-din, 98, 99; Khafi Khan, 700, 718. K. K. gives the date of starting as the middle of Zul Qada, 25th Azar of the Ilahi era. Etawa is 73 m. south-east of Agra, Thornton, 305; Makhanpur, 34 m. north-west of Cawnpore, *ibid*, 642.

† Khafi Khan, ii. 700, says Zulfiqar Khan had more than 20,000; the total was 80,000 horse, 100,000 foot. In another place, ii. 718, he gives 70,000 to 80,000 horse and innumerable foot. Farrukh-siyar had not one-third of these numbers. Faridabad to Sikri about 10 miles, Sikri to Palwal, 9 miles, *Indian Atlas*, sheet 49 south-east.

‡ This tradition of copper bricks still survived in Agra in 1768, see 'Orme Collections,' Vol. 15, p. 4304, *Mémoire des Jats*, an anonymous

On the 2nd Zul Hijja (30th December, 1712) Jahandar Shah moved to Samugarh, a place close to the Jamuna, to the east of and about eight miles from Agra city. Probably it was chosen as having been the site of Alamgir's victory of the 6th Ramzan 1068 H. (June, 1658), won by him over his brother Dara Shukoh. At first sight, looking to his superiority in numbers and in artillery, no one could have doubted of Jahandar's being victorious. But he was in the power of a mere bazar woman, surrounded by men of low antecedents, and his army under the command of officers, who with the exception of Zulfiqar Khan, were men of no experience or position. The fighting men from beyond the Indus were disgusted with Jahandar Shah's habits and many spoke despairingly of his chance of winning the day. Farrukh-siyar's success was desired even in Jahandar Shah's own ranks. The want of unity among the leaders now began to produce its effects. Zulfiqar Khan was at daggers drawn with Kokaltash Khan (Khan Jahan) and his brother, Muhammad Mah (Azam Khan). Again both of these rival parties were jealous of the Mughal leaders, and fully resolved that they should have as little chance as possible of distinguishing themselves. Indeed, the Mughals were hardly believed in or trusted at all. They were suspected, and as it turned out truly suspected, of intending some treachery. Out of these jarring elements little agreement could be looked for. The first plan, supported by Zulfiqar Khan, was to cross the river at once and occupy the other bank. This idea was given up, from want of concord among the leaders, in spite of their having thrown across a bridge of boats just opposite to their camp. Kokaltash Khan objected to their crossing on the ground that if they fought on the further side, the enemy when defeated would be able to get clear away and renew the struggle. All boats for a distance of eighty or ninety miles were called in, and when Farrukh-siyar

essay in French, written in that year. 'Comme en effet il y'a encore une tradition assez bien établie parmi les habitans d'Agra, qu'Akbar l'a voulu faire de cuivre rouge, et qu'il avait dejà fait faire une quantité de briques de ce métal.' But this author believes the idea is founded on a mistake, and that the copper ingots were made for transmutation into gold by a faqir, in whose powers as alchemist Akbar believed.

arrived, not a boat or a boatman could be found on his side of the river. [K. K. 701, 718, 713.]

The only attempt at a forward movement was one undertaken to drive away the advanced guard of Farrukh-siyar's army. Reports were brought in that Bahadur Khan (Zain-ud-din) Rohela, and Muhammad Khan Bangash, with seven or eight thousand horsemen and some light artillery, had reached the further bank of the Jamuna, intending to effect a crossing. Raji Muhammad Khan was ordered out with his guns to the other side of the river, to prevent them crossing. As soon as Raji Muhammad Khan, accompanied by Islam Khan, reached the river bank, Farrukh-siyar's troops decamped. The guns were taken across the water without difficulty. But on the further side the heavy rain had turned the sandy bed into a quagmire, into which the feet of men and animals sank up to the knee. The guns could not be placed in position, the generals therefore left them and returned. Two days had been wasted in this operation. The rain continued, the river began to rise, and thus on Jahandar Shah's side all fear of the enemy effecting a crossing was dissipated. In this state of false security they continued, and the festival of the sacrifice (10th Zul Hijja = 7th December, 1712) was celebrated at Samugarh. One writer, Yahya Khan, says that all action was intentionally postponed until after the festival. [Nur. 100, Yahya 120b.]

SEC. 14.—FARRUKH-SIYAR ARRIVES AT THE JAMUNA.

From Khajwa, where we left him, Farrukh-siyar marched on the 3rd Zul Qada (1st December, 1712) to Qasba Kora. Here he halted for a day, forty horses from Azz-ud-din's fugitive army were brought in, and a visit was paid to the shrine of Shaikh Badi-ud-din. The next marches were Alamnagar (5th), Dohar (7th), Jophra (8th), Sapoli (10th), Nadhaya (11th), and the town of Makhanpur on the 12th. On the next day visits were paid to the shrine of Shah Madar,* and gifts were distributed

* Makhanpur is 34 m. n. w. of Cawnpore, Thornton, 342. Shaikh Badi-ud-din, known as Shah Madar, died 18th Jamadi I. 840 H. (29th November 1436.)

there and at the tombs of other holy men. On the 15th (13th December, 1712) they moved to Makrandnagar, where Ali Asghar Khan was created Khan Zaman and made a *Bakhshi* in place of Azam Khan. The next three days were spent in reciting prayers at the tombs of holy men at Rajgir and other places round Qanauj. On the 19th they moved to Jalalabad thence to Sikandra (20th), Rangpur (21st), Amipur (22nd), Basantpur (23rd), Kalyanpur (24th), Etawa (25th), Fazilabad (27th), Kharsana (28th), Sarai Murlidhar (29th), Shukohabad (1st Zul Hijja), Firuzabad (2nd), Alinagar (4th), and Itimadpur (5th). This last named place is three miles from the left bank of the Jamuna, and lies five miles north-east of Samugarh. [Ijad, 82*b*.]

Here they learnt that Jahandar Shah had reached Samugarh and had seized all boats up and down the river for a distance of eighty or ninety miles. But not a sign of his further advance could be detected, nor did there seem any chance of their being able to cross the river themselves in order to force on a decisive battle. Therefore, on the night of the 5th Zul Hijja (2nd January 1713), it was resolved to send a capable messenger to Jahandar Shah. This man was to point out to him that they had come a journey of three months' duration, he, one of seven days only. Why then should he hold back and delay the final battle? Let him cross at once and meet them in the field. An answer was awaited until the following day. The envoy then returned and reported that he had been taken before Jahandar Shah and had repeated his message. The only answer received was 'It is well! it is well!' When he passed the river they cried to him 'You see the bridge, you see the bridge,' but so far as he could find out, they neither meant to cross over themselves nor allow their opponents to cross. [*Ibid.* 88*b*.]

On the 7th (4th January 1713) Farrukh-siyar moved his camp some six miles to Sarai Begam.* Here welcome news was received of treachery at work in Jahandar Shah's army. Ubaidullah, Shariyat-ullah Khan (afterwards Mir Jumla), who had been with Azim-ush-shan at Lahor, had intended to return

* Query, the Sarai Hazam of the *Indian Atlas*, sheet 50, nine miles west of Itimadpur.

to Bengal and rejoin his patron's son as soon as possible. On his way down country he had been detained at Agra by the officials on the river bank and had not been allowed to continue his journey. At this time, when Jahandar Shah arrived at Agra, Shariyat-ullah Khan, at the peril of his life, opened secret negotiations with the Mughal leaders, Chin Qilich Khan and Muhammad Amin Khan Chin, and by his persuasion these men agreed not to fight when the day of battle between the two claimants to the throne should arrive.*

SEC. 15.—SAYYID ABDULLAH KHAN FINDS A FORD AND CROSSES THE JAMUNA.

At this point things seemed to have come to a deadlock ; Jahandar Shah would not and Farrukh-siyar could not cross the Jamuna. Not a boat could be found anywhere. After three days' delay, the patience of Abdullah Khan was exhausted. Making over charge of the main body to Husain Ali Khan, he marched up the left bank in the hope of finding a ford. When he had gone four or five miles, he came to a place where he saw some villagers wading through very shallow water. Forthwith (9th Zul Hijja 1124 H., 6th Jan. 1713) he crossed with the five hundred horsemen then in his retinue.† Messengers were sent to Farrukh-siyar, and Abdullah Khan's men passed the long winter night shivering from the cold, while they held their bridle reins in their hand and watched for the daylight to appear. The 10th (7th January, 1713) was passed by Farrukh-siyar at Mewatpur, where he sacrificed for the *Id*. During the night of the 11th, the Prince crossed the river on his elephant.‡ The

* Ijad, 88*b*, 89*a*; Mhd. Qasim Lahori, 157, 158; Khafi Khan, ii. 700, 719. Lutfullah Khan Sadiq is said to have aided in seducing Jahandar Shah's officers from their allegiance, Khush-hal Chand 392*b*.

† Iradat Khan (J. Scott, II. Pt. iv. 91) says the counter march was one of twenty miles, and the place of crossing the ford of Gao Ghat, some miles above Agra. Khafi Khan ii. 720, fixes it on the night of the 11th (*i.e.*, the night between the 10th and 11th); the water, he says, was up to a man's chest, and the place, near Sarai Roz Bahani, four *kos* from Agra on the road to Dihli. The *Ahwal-ul-khawaqin* 56*a*, also calls it the ford of Roz Bahan.

‡ Khafi Khan, 720, says this crossing was 3 or 4 *pas*, *i.e.*, 9 to 12 hours after that of Abdullah Khan.

rest of the army preceded or followed him ; and although the night was dark, no lives were lost. Camp was pitched at Sarai Roz Bahani* near Akbar's tomb at Bihishtabad Sikandra, five miles west of Agra fort, with the front facing Agra and the rear towards Dihli. For a time Husain Ali Khan and Chabela Ram Nagar were left behind on the left bank of the river as a rearguard, with the view of protecting the army from any sudden pursuit on the part of Jahandar Shah. They, too, crossed the river twenty-four hours after the rest of Farrukh-siyar's army. The next day, the 12th Zul Hijja (9th January 1713), the rain being less heavy and the mist less thick, was spent in rest and in drying such articles, cannon, muskets, and rockets, as had been wetted in fording the river.†

SEC. 16.—JAHANDAR SHAH MOVES FROM SAMUGARH.

No one in Jahandar Shah's army had dreamt that Farrukh-siyar would be able to cross the Jamuna so easily and expeditiously. The news spread consternation through his camp and threw all his plans into confusion. A retrograde movement was commenced, and although the distance was not great, the whole day was spent on the march and the Emperor did not reach his tents until nightfall. During the next two days, the 12th and 13th, Jahandar Shah failed to take the initiative. Zulfiqar Khan thought that delay would induce many of Farrukh-siyar's soldiers to desert, for they were supposed to be enduring great hardships in various ways.‡

* Yahya Khan, 120*b*, places the camp near Sikandra. Sarai Roz Bahani (K. K. ii. 720) was 4 *kos* or about 9 miles west of Agra. There is a tomb of a saint of some repute, Shaikh Roz Bihan, a little to the east of Shiraz town, E. G. Browne, *A year among the Persians*, London, 1893, p. 274. Roz Bahan was the son of Abi Nasar, lived to be 84 years of age, and died 606 H., *Shiraz-nama*, B. M. *Addl. 18,185 fol.* 136 *a*. The Roz Bahani who built this Sarai may have been a descendant or disciple of this saint. Roz Bahani is not in Beale, although that author lived at Agra. A Yusuf Khan *Roz-Bihani* was subahdar of Haidarabad in Bahadur Shah's reign—*M. U.* i. 256. Again *ibid*, iii. 771, a corps of Roz Bahanis was present in the battle against Prince Shuja at Belghatha near Akbar-nagar.

† Ijad, 90; Warid, 141 *a;* Khafi Khan, 720; Yahya Khan, 120*b*.

‡ Ijad, 91; Warid, 141 *b;* Khafi Khan, 719, 720; Nur-ud-din, 101.

Sec. 17.—The Battle of Agra (13th Zul Hijja 1124 H. 10th January, 1713).

Zulfiqar Khan chose a position resting, to the right or east, upon the gardens and houses of Agra, having to the left and the front, that is, the west and north, cultivated fields, thorny scrub, and many broad, deep ravines. To the south and rear the Emperor's camp was pitched. His troops were disposed in the following order. As the heavy artillery had been abandoned in the Jamuna sands, the light artillery under Raza Quli Khan was removed from the centre and sent to the front, where the guns were drawn up in line and chained together. The vanguard was divided by Zulfiqar Khan into two parts of fifteen thousand men each, one half under Kokaltash Khan (Khan Jahan) and the other under Jani Khan. In support, there were ten thousand men under Sabha Chand, Abdus-samad Khan and Muhammad Amin Khan. The first body was opposed to Abdullah Khan, and the second to Husain Ali Khan, who was on the right of Farrukh-siyar. Raji Muhammad Khan, the *Mir Atash*, was sent off with seven elephants to recover the heavy guns from the sand, and by great exertions he was able to bring forty of them into action.*

By three o'clock in the afternoon of the 13th Zul Hijja or 19th Di (10th January 1713) the rain stopped and the mist lifted ; the contending armies as the sun broke out were able to perceive each other's movements. Abdullah Khan mounted his elephant and displayed his war standard. Then he sent

---

* Nur-ud-din, 102; Ijad, 91 *a*. Jahandar Shah's disposition is thus given by Khafi Khan, ii. 720, 721; *Right*—Kokaltash Khan, Azam Khan (M. Mah) Jani Khan; *Left*—Zulfiqar Khan, Abdus-samad Khan; *Yaman* (right) of Kokaltash Khan.—Mhd. Amin Khan, Chin Qilich Khan, Jan Nisar Khan; *Yaman* (right) and *Yasar* (left) of the Iltamsh—Raji Mhd. Khan, Islam Khan, Murtaza Khan, Hafizullah Khan and Raza Quli Khan. Farrukh-siyar's order of battle is given thus by Kamraj *Ibratnama* 50 *a;* Vanguard (*harawal*) S. Fath Ali Khan, Mir Atash, S. Husain Ali Khan, Saf Shikan Khan, Ghulam Ali Khan; *Iltamsh* and left (*jaranghar*) S. Hasan Ali Khan (*i.e.*, Abdullah Kh.), S. Najm-ud-din Ali Khan, S. Saif-ud-din Ali Khan, Muhammad Khan Bangash; (*baranghar*) Rajah Chabela Ram, Girdhar Bahadur, Ali Asghar Khan; centre (*qul*), Farrukh-siyar, Ahmad Beg, Khwaja Asim, Mhd. Muzaffar, Mir Ghyas-ud-din.

Chabela Ram Nagar, Khan Zaman (Ali Asghar) and Muhammad Khan, at the head of 8,000 horse, to meet Jani Khan, who was advancing in his direction.* Kokaltash Khan (Khan Jahan) who was on Jahandar Shah's left, had been told to attack Husain Ali Khan, who was immediately in front of him. But disobeying Zulfiqar Khan's orders, he turned his attack against Farrukh-siyar's centre. Meanwhile, in the expectation that the guns would soon arrive, there was some hesitation on Jahandar Shah's side in charging home. Husain Ali Khan, provoked that the enemy had assumed the initiative, lost patience and advancing into the field with Saf Shikan Khan (Hasan Beg) Mir Ashraf (of Lakhnau), Saifullah Khan, Fath Ali Khan, commanding Farrukh-siyar's artillery, Bahadur Khan (Zain-ud-din) Rohela and others, delivered an attack on Kokaltash Khan.† They soon came to close quarters, Jahandar Shah's side having the advantage. Seeing this result, Abdullah Khan sent forward reinforcements under Afrasyab Khan‡ and Imtiyaz Khan. Raza Quli Khan, commanding Jahandar Shah's light artillery, poured a fire on them which did much damage. Husain Ali Khan, feeling that the crisis of the battle had come, dismounted from his elephant, as was the custom on an emergency, and continued the fight on foot, sword in hand, surrounded by his relations and tribesmen. At this juncture, Abdus-samad Khan appeared in the Sayyid's rear and his Turani bowmen wounded Husain Ali Khan so severely that he fell to the ground and

* Khafi Khan, 721, says this force was sent against Kokaltash Khan. Iradat Khan (J. Scott, II. Pt. iv., p. 93) appears to be referring to this movement when he says 'After a cannonade, I saw two bodies from the enemy's line charge ours one with a red and the other with a green standard. The former was the corps of Rajah Chabela Ram, and the latter, that of Sayyid Husain Ali Khan.'

† Khafi Khan, 721, says this attack was against Zulfiqar Khan.

‡ Suhrab known as Mirza Ajmeri, entitled A. Kh. Bahadur, Rustam Jang, son of Girshasp, died at Dihli on the night of the 25th Ramzan 1130 (21st August 1718), rank 5,000 *(T-i-Mhdi)*. He had been Farrukh-siyar's instructor in wrestling and archery. An anecdote of his strength is given in *Akhbar-i-Muhabbat*, 277. His elder brother was the Rashid Khan (*ante*, p. 173) who had been sent in 1124 H. to eject Jafar Khan (Murshid Quli Kh.) from Bengal, *vide* Gladwin, *Transactions*, 96, *et seq*.

fainted. The Barha Sayyids closed round him and defended his body till they were cut down themselves. Bahadur Khan (Zain-ud-din) Rohela* was felled by a sword cut delivered by Muhammad Mah (Azam Khan), brother of Kokaltash Khan. Mir Ashraf (brother of Mir Mushrif) and Sayyid Fath Ali Khan* flung themselves on the Turanis and slew many before they were themselves slain. No one on Jahandar Shah's side had anticipated that Kokaltash Khan would fight so bravely, and as it turned out, he was the only one of the chief generals who really exerted himself in his master's cause. [K. K. 721, Khush-hal *393a.*]

While the contest between Husain Ali Khan and Kokaltash Khan was proceeding, Chhabela Ram made a fierce charge on Jani Khan. He was backed up by Khan Zaman (Ali Asghar) and Muhammad Khan Bangash, and both sides made play with their swords. Many a head was severed, many a saddle emptied. It was late in the afternoon and the booming of Jahandar Shah's big guns could now be heard. Farrukh-siyar's men seemed to lose heart ; many left the field and took shelter in neighbouring villages.

When Zulfiqar Khan noticed that Kokaltash Khan had begun to gain the upper hand, he directed Mukhtar Khan to lead a strong reinforcement to their right, to the aid of Jani Khan, and gave orders in person to the artillery to direct their fire against Abdullah Khan. The latter held his ground boldly against this artillery fire, his position being on a mound slightly raised above the plain. But some of his supporters, particularly the new levies, showed signs of giving way. In spite of this Abdullah Khan, surrounded by his Barha Sayyids, then not numbering more than two or three hundred, remained on the mound where he had taken up his place. Availing himself of his opportunity, Churaman Jat, a practised plunderer, fell on the rear of Jahandar Shah and captured many elephants and

* Sister's son of S. Abdullah Khan, Khush-hal Chand, *392b*. On *fol.* 396b there is an incredible story that Abdullah Khan, jealous of his nephew's reputation, sent a European doctor to him at Agra, where he was left behind wounded, with instructions to kill him by poisoned ointments, and it was done accordingly.

camels together with the baggage loaded upon them ; and one of his officers, Girdhar Singh, tried to drive off the oxen, which were used to drag the heavy guns, but was slain by Raji Muhammad Khan in the attempt. [Nur. 106.]

Mukhtar Khan reached Jani Khan's side at a critical moment. By his aid, the ranks of Chabela Ram were thrown into confusion and his men were almost on the point of flight. Then Chabela Ram and Muhammad Khan, taking their lives in their hands, drove their elephants alongside that ridden by Jani Khan, and succeeded in killing him. On the death of their leader Jani Khan's men fled, but Mukhtar Khan with 4,000 men continued the fight until he was severely wounded and forced to withdraw.*

At this stage of the battle Farrukh-siyar's defeat seemed assured. Reports had spread that Husain Ali Khan was dead ; while separated from his standard elephant and from most of his captains, Abdullah Khan had only a few men left around him ; and in the centre, with Farrukh-siyar himself, there were no more than six thousand men. Even these men had no heart left in them and were only waiting for a way of escape. On the other side was Zulfiqar Khan with 25,000 fresh troops, many noted leaders, and powerful artillery. But for some reason, either that he despised the enemy or that he wished Kokaltash Khan to be thoroughly defeated, he refrained from intervening in the fight. Although repeatedly asked for permission, he declined to give the order to attack. At length, learning that Jani Khan was dead, Zulfiqar Khan despatched Chin Qilich Khan to support Kokaltash Khan, with instructions, when free of that duty, to turn his attack against Farrukh-siyar's centre. Zulfiqar Khan then made ready to deal himself with Abdullah Khan, who was still in his former position. Chabela Ram withdrew his men into ambush, while Muhammad Khan succeeded in joining Abdullah Khan. The scattered troops of Husain Ali

* Nur-ud-din, 108. Khafi Khan, 702, says Mukhtar Khan was killed on the spot. Kamwar Khan, 126, however, explains that he was killed by plunderers during the retreat on Dihli. He was the son of Mukhtar Khan Khan Alam Bahadur-Shahi, (d. Safar 1121 H. April 1709), *M. U.* iii. 655. Kamwar Khan spells it Mukhtyar Khan.

Khan re-assembled round the elder Sayyid brother. Farrukh-siyar sent two thousand men from the centre, which he commanded in person. In all Abdullah Khan had now some four thousand men at his disposal.*

Leaving Zulfiqar Khan's division on his right, Abdullah Khan began to work round to the rearguard of Jahandar Shah, at the moment when Kokaltash Khan on his way to Farrukh-siyar's centre, had been met and stopped by Chabela Ram. Abdullah Khan, as soon as he saw the Prince's danger, had detached Muhammad Khan, to protect their centre. Raza Quli Khan, general of Jahandar Shah's light artillery, had just turned his guns on Farrukh-siyar, when Muhammad Khan came up and by a hand to hand encounter silenced his fire, Raza Quli Khan himself losing his life. Chabela Ram, meanwhile, had defeated and killed Kokaltash Khan, whereupon that noble's men fell back upon the main body of Jahandar Shah's army, and threw his centre into confusion. Azam Khan, (Mhd Mah), brother of Kokaltash Khan, who had been severely wounded, succeeded in rejoining Jahandar Shah.†

These events assisted Abdullah Khan in making good his advance. Accompanied now by Chabela Ram, Muhammad Khan, and Ali Asghar Khan, he came out behind the rear of Jahandar Shah. The movement was facilitated, or rather made possible, by the defection of the Turanis under Chin Qilich Khan and Muhammad Amin Khan, who according to the previous agreement, stood aloof and made no effort to interfere. At the rear there was no preparation for defence. Abdullah Khan, without a moment's hesitation, marched straight upon the elephants bearing Jahandar Shah's women. Islam Khan and Murtaza Khan came out and did their best to stem the torrent. But they were soon killed. [Nur. 110-111.]

Zulfiqar Khan, on seeing the enemy opposed to him move away to one side, adopted the erroneous idea that they had abandoned the field and were in full flight. He drew rein and

* Nur-ud-din, 109; Khafi Khan, ii. 702, 722, 723; Khush-hal Chand, 393*a*.

† Nur-ud-din 110, Khafi Khan ii. 703, 724. K. K. says, 724, that Raza Quli Khan, after being wounded, escaped to Agra and was there poisoned.

countermanded his attack. Many urged that as Husain Ali Khan was dead (as was then thought) and Abdullah Khan had left the field, it would be easy to decide the day by attacking Farrukh-siyar, who could have with him no more than 3,000 or 4,000 disheartened men, already more than half-inclined to take to flight. Zulfiqar Khan objected that the field of battle had been already vacated by the enemy, and that night was coming on. He would cause the drums to beat for the victory and encamp where they stood. The few of the enemy left were unable to cross the river at night, flight was barred to them in every direction. Why then trouble any further? In the morning they could take them alive at their leisure. The drums were beaten, in forgetfulness of Zal's advice to Rustam, 'No enemy can be counted despicable or powerless.'

Abdullah Khan heard Zulfiqar Khan's drums beating. He was perplexed by the sound and feared that some calamity had overtaken Farrukh-siyar. Resolving to sell his life as dearly as possible, he charged the enemy's centre from its rear. Jahandar Shah was still engaged in repelling this onset when his attention was diverted by new assailants. Clouds of arrows had struck the elephants bearing his women and the women singers ; the uproar and confusion were increased by the Jat plunderers, who fell at once on the baggage placed in charge of the rearguard. The men defending it were scattered and fled to the centre division. This point became in its turn the object of Abdullah Khan's attack, his force having swollen on the way to some 12,000 men. Jahandar Shah's elephant, on receiving several arrow wounds on its face, got out of its driver's control. The Emperor made an effort to reach Zulfiqar Khan, so that their united forces might turn and face the foe. But the elephant was quite uncontrollable and rushed first in one direction and then in another ; any horseman or foot-soldier that it saw it rushed at and killed. The Emperor's bodyguard fled in all directions to save their lives. Jahandar Shah was thus forced to descend from his elephant and mount a horse. [Nur. 112-113, Warid 142*a*.]

Hardly had the Emperor settled himself in the saddle, when Lal Kunwar arrived in search of him. She forced him

to come into her *howda*, and together they took the road to Akbarabad (Agra). Night was now rapidly approaching and his troops in despair abandoned the field. Zulfiqar Khan sent men to repel the enemy but the movement was ineffectual; in the darkness many were slain by the Barha Sayyids, and some, among them Mukhtar Khan (son of Khan Alam, Bahadur-Shahi) and Wazarat Khan (son of Mir Khan, the elder), were killed by plunderers. The camp-followers of Jahandar Shah's army, who had taken to flight, were trodden under foot by the retreating elephants, of which there were over two hundred present.* When this rout was reported to Zulfiqar Khan, he made no attempt to retreat, but stood where he was for at least three hours after night had fallen. Although on Farrukh-siyar's side they were beating their drums in token of victory, no one, not even Abdullah Khan, ventured to move against Zulfiqar Khan. Meanwhile the latter had sent messengers, to whom he had promised large rewards, to search for Jahandar Shah and Azz-ud-din, and bring one or the other back to the battlefield. If one of them could be found, he intended to make one final charge in the hope of retrieving the day. In spite of all efforts, no trace of either father or son could be found. Uneasy at seeing Zulfiqar Khan still holding the field at the head of his troops, Farrukh-siyar sent him a message asking the reason. If he claimed the crown for himself, his persistence was understood. If on the other hand, he were only a subject, then one heir of the house of Taimur was as much entitled to his allegiance as another. When Azam Shah was defeated, he had submitted himself to Bahadur Shah; he was bound to adopt the same course now. On this appeal, Zulfiqar Khan withdrew slowly and in good order towards Agra. To all his enquiries for Jahandar Shah the answer was that he must have gone to the city of Agra. Zulfiqar Khan pushed on as fast as possible towards the city, in the hope of finding the Emperor and returning with him to renew the contest. He drew up at Shahganj near the city, where he remained until midnight, then finding no trace of Jahandar

*Nur-ud-din, 113; Khafi Khan, ii. 703, 724; Kamwar Khan, 126.

Shah or his son, he marched off accompanied by Abdus-samad Khan, Raji Muhammad Khan, Shakir Khan and other leaders with their troops. His first march made at night carried him to near Kakrol, he then changed his direction and made for Dihli.*

Some of Zulfiqar Khan's officers, notably Abdus-samad Khan Ahrari, had advised him to attempt the seizure of Farrukh-siyar's person, an easy enterprize, and if in the morning it were found that Jahandar Shah and his son were slain, Farrukh-siyar's gratitude could be assured by placing him on the throne. Zulfiqar Khan declined to entertain this project. Others advised an immediate retreat on the Dakhin, where the Nawab's deputy, Daud Khan, possessed sufficient troops and treasure to renew the struggle. This proposal seemed likely to be accepted. But Sabha Chand interposed with the remark, 'Think of your weak old father! Will you by your own act give him over to be killed?' The bystanders remarked to each other that it was an omen of ill-fortune when, at such a moment, a scribe's opinion was taken and that of soldiers neglected. [Warid 143b, *M.U.* ii. 93.]

SEC. 18.—FLIGHT OF JAHANDAR SHAH TO DIHLI.

At the place where he had taken shelter, Jahandar Shah caused his beard and moustache to be shaved off, and changed his clothes. When the night was nearly spent he, Lal Kunwar, and Mhd. Mah (Azam Khan) mounted a small, two-wheeled bullock-carriage (*bahal*), covered by a canopy, such as women ride in, and started for Dihli. In the morning, about nine o'clock, they reached a village five miles or so west of Mathura. There they sent for food, and until it was found, lay down on the bare earth for a short sleep. They were soon again on their way, and munched as they went the dry bread for which they had begged. Three hours after nightfall on the second night, they reached a village near Sarai Hodal, and here they obtained a little grass for their cattle. Day had hardly risen

* Khafi Khan, ii. 724; Yahya Khan, 121*a;* Iradat Khan in Scott, II. Pt. iv., 94; B. M. No. 1690, *fol.* 161*b*, and *Ahwal-ul-khawaqin*, 57*b*.

ere they were again on the road. On the 16th Zul Hijja H. (13th Jan. 1713), after dark, they entered Talpat, a village thirteen miles from Dihli, which had been granted in perpetuity (*al taghmah*) by Jahandar Shah to Muhammad Mah, who had built there a house and mosque and planted a garden. His servants were still in possession, and thus they were in comparative safety. As they did not wish to enter Dihli in daylight, and they were worn out by continuous travelling, they went to sleep. At dusk they resumed their journey. Muhammad Mah advised his master to avoid Dihli and continue his flight to Multan, where he had friends. Jahandar Shah answered with idle talk. He still relied on Zulfiqar Khan's oaths and insisted that he must once more see and speak to that nobleman. They reached Dihli in the night of the 18th Zul Hijja (15th Jan., 1713). Lal Kunwar went to her own house in charge of Muhammad Mah, while Jahandar Shah, still covered with the dust from his journey, repaired alone to the house of Asad Khan, Asaf-ud-daulah.*

Zulfiqar Khan with Abdus-samad Khan had arrived at Dihli on the preceding day, the 17th (14th Jan. 1713), still at the head of a large and well-equipped force. The people of the city made certain that after an interview with his father, he would renew the struggle, erecting batteries outside the city. Zulfiqar Khan proceeded to his father's house, but found him strongly opposed to further hostilities. He argued that if with 100,000 men, and all the great nobles, they had failed, they were not likely to succeed with disheartened troops. Nor was there any money left with which to pay any one. By collecting all the rascals and low fellows from the bazars, they might prolong the struggle for two or three days. But their efforts would be only like the final splutter of an expiring candle. [M. M. 153, Warid, 145.]

Jahandar Shah, immediately on reaching Dihli went, as we have said, straight to the house of Asad Khan, in the hope

* Mirza Muhammad, 153, 154; Ijad, 108*b* to 111*a*; Khafi Khan, ii. 725. Mathura is 35 m. from Agra, Thornton, 656; Sarai Hodal, *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 50, 32 m. n.w. of Mathura; Talpat, Elliot, *Supp. Glossary*, 340, 13 m. south of Dihli, *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 49 S. E.

of securing the renewed co-operation of Zulfiqar Khan. When his arrival, alone, without a single attendant, was announced, Zulfiqar Khan directed that he should not be admitted beyond the gate. The short delay was devoted to consultation with his father. The wily old man, regardless of the infamy of the act, saw that Jahandar Shah could be converted into a ransom for themselves. Fortune had turned its face away from the man, he had made himself odious by his acts and words. It were best to make him a prisoner. They could then use this act as a means for reconciliation with Farrukh-siyar. Asad Khan had long held the highest office in the State, and five years before had been very gently treated by Bahadur Shah. As is not altogether unusual with the old, he had come to believe that he was indispensable, that no Government could be carried on without him. He imagined that Farrukh-siyar, surrounded as he was by new and comparatively untried advisers, would only be too glad to secure the services of two such experienced persons as himself and his son. If not employed at Court, Zulfiqar Khan was still sure to obtain the government of a province, or at any rate, would be allowed to retain his rank and titles. [M. M: 154, Ijad 110*a*.]

Zulfiqar Khan, whose judgment rarely erred, did not share his father's opinion. He wished to carry off Jahandar Shah to Multan, or even to Kabul, and there collect an army; or he could take him to the Dakhin, where Daud Khan with all his troops was at their sole disposal. Nay, even if Jahandar Shah were abandoned to his fate, why should he not hasten to the Dakhin himself, where without much exertion he could found an independent principality. Anything was better than submission to Farrukh-siyar—who was there who knew not of his enmity with the late Azim-ush-shan? Was not the alliance of the three Princes his work? Furthermore, was it right for them to deliver to an enemy a man who had taken refuge at their house? His father replied that, when Bahadur Shah died, every noble took one side or another, and they happened to join that of Jahandar Shah. What crime had they thereby committed? Besides, if such a captive were made over by them to Farrukh-siyar, what could he do but receive

them into favour. Doubtless it was opposed to the rules of friendship to deliver up Jahandar Shah. But everybody detested him ; if they espoused his cause, not a soul would join them ; and they would only risk their own heads along with his. Let them rather seek in him an instrument for saving their own lives and property. Zulfiqar Khan after some time yielded a reluctant consent. They sent out to Jahandar Shah misleading messages of friendship, and on the pretence of his taking repose, inveigled him into a small detached building, round which they drew some tent-screens, and thus made him a prisoner. A joint letter was then despatched by father and son to Farrukh-siyar, claiming recognition for the signal service that they had just performed.*

Having thus decided on their course of action, Asad Khan thought it advisable to eject Ahl-ullah Khan (Saifullah) from the fort, to the charge of which he had been appointed when Jahandar Shah started for Agra. He was replaced by Muhammad Yar Khan, who had been subahdar of Dihli and commandant of the fort from the time of Alamgir. Information had reached the partisans of Farrukh-siyar that Jahandar Shah was hiding in Asad Khan's house. These men assembled and demanded with threats that the fugitive should be delivered up. By daybreak there was a large crowd, and it looked as if an insurrection would break out. Then to appease the rioters, Jahandar Shah was sent a prisoner to the fort, and at his earnest entreaty, Lal Kunwar was allowed to join him. On seeing her, he is said to have exclaimed joyfully, 'Let the past be forgotten, and in all things let us praise the Lord!' A few days afterwards, on the 23rd Zul Hijja by Abdullah Khan's orders, harshness was carried to the point of placing the fallen Emperor's feet in fetters. Already, on the 22nd Zul Hijja (19th January, 1713), before any of the victorious Prince's officers had appeared in Dihli, the *khutba* was read at the

* M. Mhd, 155. Yahya Khan, 121*a*, who had a personal grudge against the Sayyid brothers, puts Zulfiqar Khan's objection on the ground that the *Sayyids* were in power, and that they had no tenderness or good feeling for them (Asad Khan and his son). He could not tell how *they* would act towards him and his father.

Jama Masjid, or great mosque, in the name of the new Emperor, Farrukh-siyar.*

SEC. 19.—END OF JAHANDAR SHAH'S REIGN.

Although Jahandar Shah lived a few days longer, and we shall recount his actual death in the next chapter, still his reign being ended, it will be convenient to interpose in this place the few details about him which remain to be noted.

Dates of Birth and Death. His life was taken on the 16th Muharram 1125 H. (11th February, 1713). As he was born on the 10th Ramzan 1071 H. (10th May, 1661), his age at death was 53 (lunar) years, four months, and six days.

Length of Reign. His reign, counting from the 21st Safar 1124 H., the day on which he was crowned, to the 16th Muharram 1125 H., the day on which he died, lasted ten months and twenty-five days. (1125 y. 0 m. 16 d.—1124 y. 1 m. 21 d.)

Coins. The verses on his coins were—

(1) *Zad sikka bar jar chun mihr sahib-i-qiran.*
Jahandar Shah, padshah-i-jahan.

'Jahandar Shah, Emperor of the World, Lord of the Conjunctions, struck sun-like money of gold.'

2. *Dar afaq zad sikka chun mihr o mah.*
Abul-fath-i-ghazi, Jahandar Shah.

'In the horizons struck money like sun and moon, Abdul-fath, the champion, Jahandar Shah.' In the first line there is a variant, *bar* (upon) appearing instead of *chun* (like).

3. *Zad sikka dar mulk chun mihr o mah.*
Shahan Shah-i-ghazi, Jahandar Shah.

'Jahandar Shah, king of kings, the champion, struck

---

* M. Mhd., 156; Warid, 143*b*; Kamwar Khan, 128; Ijad, 110*a*. Mhd. Qasim Aurangabadi, *Ahwal-ul-khawaqin*, 58, has different details. According to him Jahandar Shah put up at a way-side cook-shop, where he wrote a note, and by urgent entreaty prevailed on the man to get it into Asaf-ud-daulah's hands, and if Fate were propitious he would reward him with a *mansab* and money. One Muhsin, a servant of Asaf-ud-daulah's, was a customer of the cook-shopman. This servant took the note and gave it to his superior, the Nawab's *nazir*, and from him it passed to the Nawab. On getting the note, Asaf-ud-daulah sent men to seize Jahandar Shah.

money in the realm like sun and moon.' There is also the following variant of the first line, *Ba zad sikka-i-nuqra chun mihr o mah*, 'Struck silver money, like sun and moon.'

Mint Towns. In the three collections at the British Museum, the India Museum, Calcutta, and the Panjab Museum, Lahor, I count up twenty-eight coins of this sovereign. On three the place of coining is absent or illegible. The rest belong to the following mints ; Lahor (1), Shahjahanabad (5), Akbarabad (5), Lakhnau (2), Patna (2), Cambay (1), Surat (3), Burhanpur (2), Aurangabad (4). I am very much surprised at finding Patna in the list, a place where he never had any authority. The other names represent fairly enough the local limits of his brief authority.

Title after Death. His special title after his death was *Khuld aramgah*, 'Peaceful in Paradise.'

Character. His character has been perhaps sufficiently disclosed in the course of our story, and it hardly needs further elucidation. In his earlier years, in the Dakhin and during his government of Multan, he seems to have been a fairly active soldier. It is said that, during the struggle for the throne after Alamgir's death, the only thing that Azam Shah feared was Muizz-ud-din's soldierly qualities. But Jahandar Shah's acquisition of the crown was more due to happy accidents than to his own exertions ; and his conduct during his few months of power showed him to be quite unfitted to hold rule over others, being unable, even according to the somewhat lax Eastern standard, to govern himself. He was the first sovereign of the house of Taimur who proved himself absolutely unfitted to rule. The only good quality left to him, in popular estimation, was his liking for and liberality to religious mendicants. In company with Lal Kunwar, he visited them and 'kissed their feet'. He was also fond of watching the fighting of elephants. He delighted in illuminations and fire-works, himself setting fire to the *Lanka*, the mimic fortress of Ravan, the ravisher of Sita. The cause of his fall is likened by Warid truly enough to the case of the exiled monarch, who attributed his ruin to morning slumbering and midnight carousing. [Warid 140*b*, Yahya 119*a*.]

Wives.—Jahandar Shah was married on the 5th Shaban 1087 H. (14th October, 1676) to the daughter of Mirza Murad Kam, Mukarram Khan Safawi, and then, on the 18th Ramzan 1095 H. (30th August, 1684) to that lady's niece, Sayyid-un-nissa Begam, daughter of Mirza Rustam, son of Mukarram Khan. Another wife was Anup Bai, who died at Dihli on the 25th Zul Qada 1147 H. (17th April 1735). She was the mother of Aziz-ud-din (Alamgir II). One wife, or rather concubine, was the woman we have so often mentioned, Lal Kunwar, a dancing girl, created Imtiyaz Mahal after Jahandar Shah's accession.*

Children. The children of Jahandar Shah are shown in the following table :—

Muizz-ud-din, Jahandar Shah

Azz-ud-din (1) Izz-ud-din (2) Aziz-ud-din (3) Rabi Begam (4) Daughter (5).

Yahya Khan, 119*a*, calls the younger sons Izz-ud-daulah and Muin-ud-daulah.

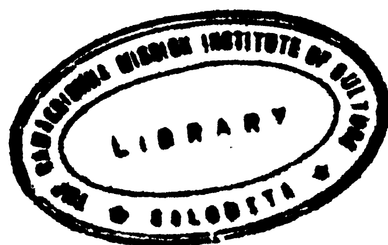
(1) *Azz-ud-din.* The date of his birth is not recorded, but it must have been before 1103 H. (1691-2), in which year he is mentioned. He was married in 1118 H. (1706-7) to the daughter of Amir Khan deceased, and again on the 24th Ramzan 1121 H. (23rd November, 1709) to a Sayyid Begam, daughter of Bidar Bakht, son of Azam Shah. Azz-ud-din was blinded on the 6th Muharram 1126 H. (21st January 1714), and died at Dihli on the 8th Zul Hijja 1157 H. (12th December, 1744).

(2) *Izz-ud-din.* This Prince's year of birth has not been traced, but he, too, is mentioned in 1103 H. (1691-2). He died in confinement at Dihli on the 8th Rabi II. 1151 H. (25th July, 1738).

(3) *Aziz-ud-din.* He was born at Multan in 1099 H. (1687-8), his mother being Anup Bai. He succeeded to the throne in 1167 H. (1754) under the title of Alamgir the second, and he will be dealt with when we reach the end of his reign.

(4) *Rabi Begam.* She was betrothed to Bidar Dil, son of Bidar Bakht, on the 22nd Rabi I. 1122 H. (20th May 1710), and died on the 14th Rajab of the same year, (7th September, 1710).

There must have been another daughter, since Jahandar Shah had another son-in-law, Khwaja Musa Sarbuland Khan, son of Khwaja Yaqub Surbuland Khan Naqshbandi Bukhari, who died on the 4th Jamadi I. 1152 H. (8th July 1739) at Shahjahanabad, aged nearly seventy. This man's father died in 1096 H. (1684-5), *T-i-Mhdi.*



CHAPTER IV

FARRUKH-SIYAR

SEC. 1.—THE MARCH FROM AGRA TO DIHLI.

In the confusion and the darkness the Jats plundered impartially the baggage of both armies. No fitting resting-place for the Prince could be found, nothing but a dirty screen, all black from the smoke of cooking, and a small wooden platform. On this latter Farrukh-siyar seated himself and received the homage of his officers. It was not till three days afterwards that Sadullah Khan (son of Inayatullah Khan), who had been Jahandar Shah's Lord Steward, produced the late sovereign's duplicate set of tents, which owing to their erection within a walled garden, had escaped the plunderers. These were put up for Farrukh-siyar on the site of Jahandar Shah's encampment. [Warid, 148*b*.]

Having spent the night of the battle (14th Zul Hijja, 11th January, 1713), in the small tent erected on the field, the next morning, after a formal enthronement, Farrukh-siyar offered up his thanksgiving at the shrine of Shah Mushtaq, and then marched one and a half *kos* to his camp. The Turani leaders, Chin Qilich Khan and Muhammad Amin Khan Chin, with many others who had served in the army of Jahandar Shah, tendered their submission. Shariyat-ullah Khan (Ubaidullah) was also presented by Sayyid Abdullah Khan. Written orders were issued to Asad Khan and Muhammad Yar Khan at Dihli, and to many other subahdars, enjoining them to seize the fugitive Jahandar Shah wherever he might be found. At the end of the day His Majesty paid a visit to Husain Ali Khan who was confined to his tents by his wounds. After the battle was over, he had been found about midnight lying naked and insensible under a heap of the slain. When informed of the victory, new life was breathed into him. The following day, the 15th (12th January), the Emperor attended at the large mosque attached to Akbar's tomb at Bihishtabad Sikandra, and there heard the *khutba*

read in his own name. More nobles and leaders now presented themselves. On this date Abdullah Khan brought in as a prisoner Azz-ud-din, who had been found hiding in the underground chambers of the mansion at Agra known as Dara Shukoh's.* Public rumour asserted that Jahandar Shah and Zulfiqar Khan had gone to Dihli ; the latter had been seen at Mathura on the way to that place.†

On the 17th (14th January), a move was made to the neighbourhood of Bagh Nur Manzil, also known as Bagh Dahra.‡ The stream of officers lately serving under Jahandar Shah continued to flow into the camp. As there was still great uncertainty about the future movements of Jahandar Shah, and a renewal of the struggle by Zulfiqar Khan was feared, it was thought advisable to take steps to secure possession of the capital as quickly as possible. Abdullah Khan was therefore invested with the usual dress of honour and despatched on this day (14th January, 1713), upon that service. With him went Chin Qilich Khan, Muhammad Amin Khan Chin, Hamid Khan, Jan Nisar Khan, Khwajam Quli Khan, Lutfullah Khan Sadiq, Turktaz Khan, and others. His orders were to attach all the property of the men belonging to the other side. An imperial rescript was also sent to Asad Khan by the hand of Ikhlas Khan. It was then Farrukh-siyar's intention to follow as speedily as possible with the rest of his troops.§

On the 18th (15th January, 1713), another visit was paid to Husain Ali Khan. The 19th was passed at the Taj, where the

* Yahya Khan, 121*a*, says that Azz-ud-din and his wife were captured in a grove near Agra, and that Farrukh-siyar ordered them to be kept prisoners. Kamraj's story, 52*a*, is that they were found in a milk-seller's house.

† Kamwar 126, Ijad 100*b*, Warid 148*a*, Khafi Khan 724, 727.

‡ Of this grove the only thing now left is a large well, which from its size is known as the well of the 52 water-bags *(bawan lao ki kua)*—*Tarikh-i-Agra*, Husaini Press, Fathgarh, p. 28. The site is three miles *south* of the fort, it is now within the cantonments, and is called Khawaspura (private letter from Mirza Wiqar Ali Beg, dated 20th February, 1893). The epithet Nur Manzil was given with reference to the Emperor Jahangir's name, Nur-ud-din Muhammad, *Masir-ul-umara*, iii. 79.

§ Mirza Muhammad 150, 151; Kamwar 127; Ijad 104b; Khafi Khan, 727.

tombs of Shah Jahan and his queen, Mumtaz-i-Mahal, were visited. The Government of Akbarabad was confirmed to Sayyid Amir Khan Tatthawi or Sindhi,* (grandson of Qasim Khan Namakin).* The *jizyā*, or poll-tax, was abolished after it had been levied for thirty-four years. On the 20th submissive letters were received from Asad Khan at Dihli, reporting the imprisonment of Jahandar Shah and the restraint placed on Zulfiqar Khan. As Farrukh-siyar could not trust Asad Khan, it was decided to await full reports from Abdullah Khan before any further action was taken. On the 22nd the Emperor attended the public prayers at the Great Mosque near the *Chauk*, or market-place, in the city of Agra, gold and silver coins being scattered on the way.* The next day Abdullah Khan sent the good news from Dihli that Jahandar Shah had been made a prisoner and Zulfiqar Khan dissuaded from continuing his resistance. As there was no longer the same pressing necessity for haste, re-assuring letters were sent to Asad Khan, and a leisurely advance to Dihli was ordered by the usual stages.†

On the 25th (22nd January, 1713), a start was made for Dihli, the first camp being near Sikandra. The other marches were, 27th Sarai Godraya, 1st Muharram Iradatnagar, 3rd a place near Sarai Azimabad, between Mathura (Islamabad) and Bindraban, 5th Siyai, 6th Shergarh, 8th Shahpur 9th Sultanpur, 11th near Fathpur, 12th near Qabulpur, 13th Ismailpur, 15th (10th February, 1713), a grove in Khizrabad, five miles south of Dihli city.‡

---

* For this man, see Blochmann, *Ain*, 470, and *Masir-ul-umara*, iii. 74. The rock-salt plates and bottles from which he got his nickname are described in Anand Ram's *Mirat-ul-istilah*. For Amir Khan himself, see *M. U.*, i. 303.

† For abolition of *jizya*, see B. M. No. 1690, *fol.* 163.

‡ Kamwar Khan 127, 128; Ijād 105*a*; Khafi Khan, 728 and *M. U.* i. 318, say the army arrived on the 14th Muharram at Barahpula, which is 1¾ miles nearer the city (Carr Stephen, plate 1). Sarai Godraya, Iradatnagar and Shergarh, I have not traced. Mathura and Bindraban are well known. Siyai (Seyee) and Shahpur are on sheet No. 50, Sultanpur, Fathpur (F. Biloch), Qabulpur, and Ismailpur on sheet No. 49 of the *Indian Atlas*.

SEC. 2.—ABDULLAH KHAN AT DIHLI.

We now return to Dihli. The first news of Jahandar Shah's defeat at Agra was received at Dihli after midday on the 15th Zul Hijja (12th January, 1713). We have already described the subsequent arrival there of Zulfiqar Khan and Jahandar Shah, and the measures adopted by Asad Khan. Sayyid Abdullah Khan, who started from Agra on the 17th arrived at Barahpula near Dihli on the 25th Zul Hijja. The principal men of the city came out to pay their respects,* and on the same day Zulfiqar Khan, to whom Ikhlas Khan had been sent, rode out to the camp. His interview with the new Wazir lasted over an hour. The Sayyids never doubted for a moment that Asad Khan and his son, as soon as they presented themselves, would be admitted to favour and high office. Thus they thought it wisest for their own future benefit, to put the two men under an obligation by acting as their introducers. Sayyid Abdullah Khan promised his predecessor that, if he would entrust himself to his and his brother's care, they would arrange that he and his father should not only be presented to the new Emperor, but that not a hair of their heads should be injured.† Visitors returning from the Nawab's camp met at the Turkman gate of the city‡ the retinue of Mahabat Khan, son of Munim Khan, who had just been released from prison along with Jahandar Shah's other prisoners. Amin-ud-din Khan, who was one of them, found his way to Mathura and was presented there to Farrukh-siyar on the 3rd Muharram (29th January).§

On the 26th Zul Hijja, Abdullah Khan entered the city

* Among others Mirza Muhammad, the historian, with his brother and a cousin, was presented to the Nawab by Lutfullah Khan Sadiq. Barahpula is 3¾ miles south of the Dihli Gate of the modern city (Carr Stephen, plate 1 and p. 209).

† Yahya Khan, 121*b*, calls the overtures made by Sayyid Abdullah Khan to Asad Khan his "deceit" *(fareb)*.

‡ This gate is on the south side of the city, having the Dihli Gate between it and the river. See Constable's *Hand Atlas*, Plate 47, and Carr Stephen, 244.

§ Mirza Muhammad 153, 157; Kamwar Khan 129; Yar Muhammad 26; Khafi Khan, ii. 732; *M. U.* i. 317.

and occupied the mansion known as Jafar Khan's.* He busied himself in restoring order in the capital and the rest of the country. Khwaja Husain (Khan Dauran), Hifz-ullah Khan (son of Murtaza Khan), Murid Khan and other partisans of the late Emperor were seized and their property confiscated. The same course was adopted with the estate of the late Kokaltash Khan (Ali Murad). Sabha Chand, Zulfiqar Khan's chief man of business, who had been promoted by him to the office of *diwan* of the Khalsa, or imperial revenue office, with the title of Rajah, was summoned by Abdullah Khan. Finding that this man was sent for, Zulfiqar Khan began to fear for himself, and he told Sabha Chand not to obey the order. Abdullah Khan sent reassuring messages and advised the ex-wazir not to interfere. Zulfiqar Khan was not satisfied, until in a few days *farmans* arrived, addressed to himself and his father, promising them the new Emperor's favour. Some of these letters went so far as to promise his restoration to the office of Wazir. As there was no other way out of the difficulty, Sabha Chand was now sent in charge of Dawar Dad Khan to Sayyid Abdullah Khan. Sabha Chand was put into prison and his house confiscated. [M. M. 158.]

SEC. 3.—DEATH OF ZULFIQAR KHAN.

Although one month had barely elapsed since Farrukh-siyar had won an Empire almost entirely by the exertions of the two Sayyid brothers, a party adverse to them had already been formed in the imperial camp. At its head was Ubaidullah, Shariyat-ullah Khan,† a Turani, who when *Qazi* of Dacca had acquired great influence over Farrukh-siyar. Allied with him were other personal friends and dependents of the new Emperor, the principal man being Khwaja Asim (Ashraf

*It had belonged to Kokaltash Khan and was sometimes called Ali Mardan Khan's. Azam Shah had owned it in Alamgir's reign—(B. M. 1690, *fol.* 162*a*). It was afterwards granted to Abdullah Khan.

† Afterwards Mir Jumla. To give him a status in the Court he had been made *darogha* of the pages (*khawas*) on the 20th Zul Hijja (17th January, 1713) and the title of Ibadullah Khan was conferred on the 26th of that month.

Khan),* a native of Agra. Shariyat-ullah Khan, although possessing little capacity for high office, was a bold ambitious man, whose chief object was to clear his own road to power by destroying as many as possible of the old nobility, and sowing in Farrukh-siyar's heart the seeds of suspicion against the Sayyids, whom he hoped soon to supplant. [M. M. 158-159.]

When it was known in Farrukh-siyar's entourage that Zulfiqar Khan had visited Abdullah Khan and that some kind of friendly proposals had been interchanged, it was resolved to interfere at once.† The man selected as their envoy was one Muhammad Jafar, who had long been steward to Farrukh-siyar and had lately been raised to the title of Taqarrub Khan. As he was a native of Iran, it was thought that he would be more trusted than any one else by Asad Khan and Zulfiqar Khan, who were also from that country. Taqarrub Khan swore the most solemn oaths on the *Quran* that no harm should happen to Asad Khan or his son. He hinted to them that it was dangerous to accept an introduction through the Sayyid brothers, as in secret Farrukh-siyar was already displeased with them, and was not likely to turn a gracious ear to any representation from them. Persuaded by these arguments, Asad Khan proposed that he and Zulfiqar Khan should set out together. His son preferred that, in the first instance, Asad Khan should go alone, that they might see what sort of fate was in store for them. Asad Khan would not listen to any such proposal. He was convinced that, as their services could not be dispensed with, no harm could come to them. Finally on the 15th Muharram the two nobles accompanied Taqarrub Khan to the camp at Khizrabad and passed the night in their own tents, it

* Afterwards Samsam-ud-daulah Khan Dauran, who was made *darogha* of the audience-hall on the 1st Muharram (27th January, 1713).

† Yahya Khan, 121*b*, makes out that Farrukh-siyar asked the Sayyids for advice as to the conduct to be pursued towards Jahandar Shah, Asad Khan, and Zulfiqar Khan. Abdullah Khan, Husain Ali Khan and Lachin Beg held that on no account could they be allowed to live. Thereupon Farrukh-siyar decided that Asad Khan was innocent; but they were at liberty to kill the other two.

being arranged that they should be received in the morning. Their too ready acquiescence bears out the truth of the proverb, "When Death arrives, the physician becomes a simpleton."*

We are told by Warid, I know not with what amount of truth, that after Zulfiqar Khan's death the hand which Taqarrub Khan had employed in taking the false oath on the *Quran* began at once to wither. He could not move it, and it grew continually worse. He lived on asses' milk, he tried every remedy, nothing was of the least use. Thus the hand remained a witness to his false oath until three years afterwards his end came.†

On the 16th Muharram the presentation of Asad Khan and his son took place. Zulfiqar Khan, as he entered the imperial enclosure, felt a presentiment of his impending doom. He said to his father that he would withdraw and greet the Emperor the next day, when on his march into the city. Asad Khan lost his temper and gave a sharp answer. Zulfiqar Khan was silenced, and they entered the enclosure together.‡ Asad Khan went into the Justice Hall and sat down. His presence was announced to the Emperor. Farrukh-siyar came from the chaplet tent *(tasbih-khana)* and Asad Khan rose, made his bow, and pronounced his salutation. The Emperor advanced quickly, embraced him, took his two hands, and seated him close to himself. Many flattering remarks were pronounced and robes

---

* Yahya Khan, 121*b*, *chun qaza ayad, tabib ablah shawad*. Mirza Muhammad 159, Kamwar Khan 129, Warid 113, Khafi Khan, ii. 732, 733.

† T. Kh. died on the 9th Rabi II. 1128, 1st April, 1716, *Tarikh-i-Mhdi.* Mirza Mhd., 261, says he died of *diqq* (hectic fever, consumption, atrophy), of which he had been seriously ill for one year. He left sons, one of whom, Tahir Khan, was on the 7th Jamadi II. 1128 H. created Taqarrub Khan, see Kamwar Khan, 163, 164.

‡ Mirza Muhammad's account of Zulfiqar Khan's death was obtained from a friend, whose truthfulness he fully believed in. This gentleman had gone that morning, in Indian fashion, with a *dali* or basket of fruit and vegetables from his own garden, to be laid at the new Emperor's feet. By this means he had been admitted into the privy chamber and justice hall. Before he could come out, the approach of Asad Khan and his son was announced. When he tried to make his exit, he found that of those inside no one was allowed to leave the place. He was thus a witness of all that happened (M. Mhd., 161, 162).

and jewels were brought, with which he was then and there invested. Asad Khan now said, "I have brought a culprit with me, may I hope for the pardon of his offences?" The Emperor replied, "Brother, let him be brought in." Zulfiqar Khan came in, unarmed, his two hands tied together, and stood before the sovereign. Farrukh-siyar, making a gesture of repugnance at seeing his hands tied, ordered them in an agitated voice to be untied. The Khan was then told to approach. He came and fell at the Emperor's feet, but he was raised up and embraced and kindly spoken to. A robe of honour and jewels were brought for him. Farrukh-siyar then, addressing Asad Khan, said that he was just on the point of starting for a visit to the shrine of Nizam-ud-din Auliya,* he (Asad Khan) had better go home and "Brother," that is, Zulfiqar Khan, would remain. Before their arrival, the orders for the visit to the shrine had been given, and the imperial retinue and the men of the *haft chauki* (personal guard) had all assembled.†

Asad Khan returned to his tents and Zulfiqar Khan remained in the Emperor's camp. Farrukh-siyar rose and went out, saying to Zulfiqar Khan, "I am going now; I must get something to eat and see to my equipage; I will send some food for you, you can eat it here." He then went inside, leaving Zulfiqar Khan seated with Khwaja Asim.‡ In a few moments trays from the imperial table were brought. Fearing that the food might be poisoned, Zulfiqar Khan hesitated to eat. Khwaja Asim, penetrating his thoughts, said: "If his lordship permit, this slave, too, will take a share." Thus reassured Zulfiqar Khan began to eat. The Khwaja then remarked that to eat food in the tent used as Hall of Justice was not fitting, had they not better move to the screens outside and eat there? It so happened that two canvas screens had been put up in the space before the Hall of Justice, an entrance having been left at one end only. The two nobles came out. As soon as

* Kamwar Khan, 130, says "the Qutb-ul-aqtab," *i.e.*, the shrine of Khwaja Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyari.

† M. Mhd. 160-2, Ijad 119*b*, Warid 114.

‡ He had just been made Khan Dauran Bahadur, Ijad, 119*a*. His titles were afterwards added to, and he became Samsam-ud-daulah Mansur Jang.

Zulfiqar Khan had entered within the screens, and while Khwaja Asim was still outside them, the tent-pitchers with the greatest expedition brought the screens together and closed the entrance. In an instant about two hundred men, each armed with sword and shield, sprang from their place of concealment and drew up round the screen, shoulder to shoulder, leaving no space whatever between them. When the capture was reported to Farrukh-siyar who was seated in the chaplet tent (*tasbih-khana*), Ibadullah Khan, *darogha* of the pages,* was sent out. Entering between the screens, he said loudly, "His Majesty asks what reason there was for you to imprison Muhammad Kam Bakhsh and inflict injury on his followers. Does it accord with the rules of loyalty and of submission to a gracious master to act thus to his sons?" Zulfiqar Khan answered:—

"The imprisonment of Kam Bakhsh was by his father's order; I was Alamgir's servant and Kam Bakhsh, his son. If he had told me to make my father a prisoner, I should have obeyed."

After each answer Ibadullah Khan returned to Farrukh-siyar and came back with a new demand. The questions and answers continued on this wise as follows:

"You were generalissimo and chief adviser of Muhammad Azam Shah. Was it fitting for a general to flee, as you did, and leave his Prince all alone?"

"As long as he was alive, I remained with him; when he was slain, what right had I to continue a contest in the field."

"What was your quarrel with the martyred Prince, (*i.e.* Azim-ush-shan, Farrukh-siyar's father)?"

"He did not look on me with favour, thus I was not in a position to join his side. All the officers of the State took one side or another. I, too, took a side; nor did I thereby commit any crime."

"Why did you kill Mukhlis Khan and Rustam Dil Khan?"

"I had nothing to do with that matter. These things were done on the advice and by the instigation of Kokaltash Khan."

* Afterwards Mir Jumla, Muazzam Khan, Khan Khanan, Bahadur, Muzaffar Jang.

"All the other Princes survive: what was Muhammad Karim's offence that you should seize him, bring him to your house, and slay him? Are you not aware that he was our brother, and that his blood cannot go unavenged?" [M. M. 163-166.]

Zulfiqar Khan, by this time, knew that his death was resolved on, and that any further display of meekness would avail him nothing. He changed his tone and returning taunt for taunt, cursed Farrukh-siyar and said, "If you want to kill me, kill me in any way you like, what is the use of all this talk." Upon this Lachin Beg and several Qalmaq slaves* fell upon him, threw him to the ground, twisted the strap from a shield round his throat and strangled him. The others stamped upon his chest till the breath left him. But to make quite sure a dagger was plunged into his body several times. Ropes were tied to his feet and he was dragged to the outside of the railing in front of the public audience-hall. There the body was left exposed. Officials were deputed to confiscate the houses and property of both father and son. Zulfiqar Khan's retinue, which was drawn up outside the artillery park at the entrance of the camp, dispersed on hearing what had happened, and the men sought safety wherever they could find it. All this took place at the time of afternoon prayer. [M. M. 166, K. K. 734.]

The official statement of the case against Zulfiqar Khan, as found in Ijad, whose narrative was corrected weekly by Farrukh-siyar himself, follows the lines of the conversation reproduced above. The misleading letters and messages sent to him through Taqarrub Khan are exultingly referred to as an exhibition of consummate policy and statesmanship. [Ijad 116*a*.]

---

* The name is sometimes given as Ilachin Beg and Dilachin Beg. Ijad, 119*b*, and Kamwar Khan, 130, say "Nur Beg and other Qalmaqs of the brotherhood of Ilachin Beg." Khafi Khan, ii. 734, has Lachin Beg (Bahadur Dil Khan) "or as some say, one of the chelas." Mhd. Qasim Lahori, 172, describes the man as a servant of Khwaja Qutb-ud-din, son of Maulana Sharf Husain Kajkiyah (?) He received the title of Bahadur Dil Khan at the request of Mir Jumla.

SEC. 4—DEATH OF JAHANDAR SHAH.

On the same day that saw the end of Zulfiqar Khan (16th Muharram, 1125 H., 11th Feb., 1713), Saifullah Khan* was sent to the citadel with a letter in Farrukh-siyar's own hand-writing addressed to Muhammad Yar Khan. The *nazim*, although sorrowful at Jahandar Shah's fate, complied with the order and admitted the messengers. When the group of men entered the prison room, Lal Kumwar shrieked, clasped her lover round the neck, and refused to let go. Violently forcing them apart, the men dragged her down the stairs. Then laying hands on Jahandar Shah, they tried to strangle him. As he did not die at once, a Mughal, with his heavy-heeled shoes, kicked him several times in a vulnerable place and finished him off. Word was sent to the *nazim* that life was extinct, that an executioner was needed to cut off the head. Muhammad Yar Khan, who was standing down below, bathed in cold perspiration, answered "What is left for an executioner to do? Cut off his head, and carry it to His Majesty." They cut it off. The body was then thrown into an open litter (*miyana*) and the head placed on a tray (*khwan*). Half an hour after nightfall, they reached the camp with the lifeless head and trunk and laid them at the entrance to the Emperor's tents, alongside the body of Zulfiqar Khan. Lal Kunwar was sent to the settlement of Suhagpura, where the widows and families of deceased Emperors lived in retirement.†

SEC. 5.—PROCESSION INTO DIHLI.

Next morning, the 17th Muharram (12th February, 1713), Farrukh-siyar left Khizrabad and marching in state into Dihli

---

* B. M. No. 1690, *fol.* 162*a* says Taqarrub Khan (*alias* Nusrat Khan), Yahya Beg, was the messenger.

† Kamwar Khan 130, Ijad 122*a*, Khafi Khan 734, Khush-hal Chand 395*a*, Rustam Ali 225*b*. Suhagpura (Hamlet of Happy Wives) or the *Bewa-khana* (Widow-house) was one of the establishments (*karkhanajat*) attached to the Court "where in the practice of resignation they pass their lives, receiving rations and a monthly allowance," *Dastur-ul-aml*, B. M. No. 6598, *fol.* 55*a*. The name, Suhagpura, may have been due to delicacy for the feelings of the ladies, or it was perhaps given in derision.

took possession of the palace and its citadel. The artillery of all sorts went in front. Behind the guns came the new Emperor mounted on an elephant, and at his back sat Ibadullah Khan (Mir Jumla) waving a peacock fan over his master's head. Largesse was scattered among the crowd as he went by. The head of Jahandar Shah was carried on the point of a long bamboo held by an executioner seated on an elephant ; his body was laid across the back of another elephant. The corpse of Zulfiqar Khan, with head and feet bare, was tied by the feet to the tail of a third elephant. These followed about one hundred yards behind the elephant on which the Emperor rode. The procession was met by Sayyid Abdullah Khan (now Qutb-ul-mulk) near the city wall, at the inside of the Dihli Gate. The crowd in the streets was immense, a greater had rarely been seen. Some of the spectators were unable to restrain their grief, their eyes filled with tears, lumps formed in their throats, and they muttered to each other, under their breath, "Glory be to God! Yesterday lords over thousands, to-day fallen into this calamity."*

The bodies of the unfortunate Jahandar Shah and of his Wazir were thrown down on the sandy waste before the Dihli Gate of the palace. Asad Khan's family, taking with them nothing but the clothes they had on, were removed in palkis from their house to one known as the *peshkhana* of Khan Jahan where they were kept under surveillance ; and Taqarrub Khan, the new *Khan-saman* or Lord Steward, brought in two elephants loaded with the jewels and jewelled vessels from Asad Khan's house, and also sixty-two of his horses. The fallen vice-gerent himself had been forced to appear in the triumphal procession into Dihli, seated in a *palki* and accompanied by a few men

* Mirza Mhd. 168, Ijad 123, Khush-hal Chand 395*b*. The Dihli Gate is on the south side of the city, it is the one nearest the Jamuna. Mirza Muhammad and his brother witnessed the entry into Dihli from the roof of the Akbarabadi mosque, which is in the Faiz Bazar, the street running north and south from the Dihli Gate of the city to the Dihli Gate of the fort. (*Asar-us-sanadid*, 70; Carr Stephen, 246, 248). Khush-hal Chand, also, was one of the onlookers and "into the skirt of this humble one, too, fell a silver rose, weighing seven *mashas*."

on foot, all that was left of his former grandeur. At the Akbarabadi mosque he was halted, and there he sat in his *palki* unheeded for four or five hours, until Farrukh-siyar ordered his removal with his women to the office rooms of the diwan above referred to. Some temporary screens were put up, and there he and his family sought shelter. Food was sent to them at night by Husain Ali Khan.*

It was not till the 19th (14th February, 1713), that Arslan Khan received orders to bury the bodies of the murdered Jahandar Shah and Zulfiqar Khan. The Prince was laid in the vault of the Emperor Humayun's tomb, at the side of other members of the family. Zulfiqar Khan's remains were interred close to the shrine of Shaikh Ata-ullah, which is situated at the gateway of the same tomb. Zulfiqar Khan was a little over fifty-nine (lunar) years of age at the time of his death ; he left no sons. No memorial was erected over him for several years. At length some of his eunuchs, who had been transferred to Sayyid Husain Ali Khan, mentioned this fact to their new master. The Sayyid ordered a tomb to be built, and on a tablet were inscribed the following lines, composed by Asad Khan :—

"A hidden voice, lamenting with blood suffused eyes, said, 'Ibrahim made of Ismail a sacrifice' " (1125 H.).†

In connection with these lines, Warid tells a story in praise of Asad Khan's strength of mind and vigour of intellect, even at the extreme age that he had then reached, which, if true, would seem rather to prove his want of common feeling. At the moment that his son's death was announced to him, he hung his head for a little while, and then said to the bystanders, "My thoughts repeatedly recur to the words 'Ibrahim made of Ismail a sacrifice.' " As the numerical value of the letters in these words accords with the year of Zulfiqar's death, the coincidence, if the words came spontaneously into his mind, was very wonderful. If not, this excogitating of a numerical puzzle was a curious use of the first moments following the news of an eldest son's violent death. As there was no member

* Kamwar 131, Ijad 124*b*, Khafi Khan 734, B. M. No. 1690, 162*b*.

† The father's original name was Ibrahim and the son's Ismail, Ijad 127*b*, Warid 147*a*, Khush-hal Chand 395*a*.

of the family left to support its name and fame, and Asad Khan now disappears from our history, it will be sufficient to note that he survived until the 25th Jamadi II. 1128 H. (15th June, 1716), when he passed away at the great age of eighty-eight lunar years.*

Zulfiqar Khan had obtained great renown as a soldier in the Dakhin, and there can be no question that he was a man of great experience in matters of State. But during the period that we are treating, commencing with the battle between Azam Shah and Bahadur Shah in 1707, his generalship was prudently displayed more in furthering his own interests than in winning battles for the master that he might be serving at the moment. Danishmand Khan (Ali) has a passage, taunting him with his conduct in the battle of Jajau, and accusing him of acting on the maxim that discretion is the better part of valour. An anecdotist [*Chamanistan*, 22] states that Zulfiqar Khan offered the poet and historian a large sum if he would erase this passage from his work, but to Ali's credit be it said, the words still stand in the copies which have come down to us.†

The greatest blot on the life of Asad Khan and Zulfiqar Khan is, however, the base ingratitude displayed towards Jahandar Shah. Even native historians do not defend this act

* Warid 146*b*, *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* year 1128 H., Kamwar Khan 165. *M. U.* ii. 319, says 94 years; also Khafi Khan, ii. 771, where the year is 1129 H. Kamraj makes the age 98 years. An allowance of Rs. 50,000 a year had been given to him by Farrukh-siyar, B. M. *Or. 1690, fol.*, 164*a*.

† *Bahadur-Shah-nama*, B. M. *Or. 24, fol.* 37*b*. "The first to show his back was Muhammad Ismail, entitled Zulfiqar Khan. To Azam Shah's face he made great protestations, but instead of sacrificing his life, he made off at the earliest moment. Receiving from an arrow a skin wound near the mouth, he cast away his honour through excessive love of life. If he is abhorrent (*malun*) to the people, his excuse is notorious (*malum*). He had risen to fame and place in the Dakhin; from his youth up, his training in valour had been in running after the traces of the Mahrattas, a tribe of cats, whose occupation is robbing and running away. He had never seen a battle between kings; had never met in battlefield with tigers from the forest of valour. In brief, to stand firm in such violent contests you must be a hero."

of treachery. Jahandar Shah had many claims upon them for favours conferred ; and he had placed his life in their hands. If Asad Khan had thought fit to excuse himself from joining any further in the Prince's fortunes, he should have left it open for the fugitive to seek some other refuge. But he should not have seized him or delivered him over to his mortal enemy to be killed with indignity. Apart from this harsh and fruitless act, Asad Khan was superior in character to the other nobles of his time. He did little oppression, was long-suffering, full of dignity and of a handsome presence. He was of a correct disposition, which means, we are told, the showing of benevolence and sympathy to the lowly, and of ostentation and hauteur to your equals. His rise was rapid and unchecked, or as it is put, "he threw without intermission double-six from the dice-box of desire." [*M. U.* ii. 317—318.]

SEC. 6.—NEW OFFICIALS AND NEW APPOINTMENTS.

On the way from Agra to Dihli, and after arrival at Dihli, many new appointments were made and new titles conferred. Sayyid Abdullah Khan (now made Nawab Qutb-ul-mulk, Yamin-ud-daulah, Sayyid Abdullah Khan, Bahadur, Zafar Jang, Sipah-salar, Yar-i-wafadar) became chief minister. The *diwan-i-khalsa*, or Exchequer Office, was given to Muhammad Baqir Mutamid Khan, who had been for a time Prince Muhammad Azam Shah's Lord Steward, and then *diwan*, or comptroller of the household, to Prince Jahan Shah ; the *diwan-i-tan* went to Lutfullah Khan Bahadur Sadiq, who in Bahadur Shah's reign was agent at Court of Prince Jahan Shah, and in Jahandar Shah's was comptroller (*diwan*) to that sovereign's eldest son, Azz-ud-din. Sayyid Husain Ali Khan was appointed first Bakhshi with the titles of Umdat-ul-mulk, Amir-ul-umara, Bahadur, Firuz Jang, Sipah-sardar. As the reward for the Turani betrayal of Jahandar Shah, the place of second *Bakhshi* was conferred on Muhammad Amin Khan Chin Bahadur, who now became Itimad-ud-daulah Nusrat Jang. The third Bakhshi was Afrasyab Khan Bahadur, a *Wala-shahi*, or personal follower of Farrukh-siyar, with whom he had been in Bengal and had

there taught him wrestling.* The pay-mastership of the Ahadis† was given to Qamar-ud-din Khan Bahadur, son of the above-named Muhammad 'Amin Khan. Islam Khan (grandson of the late Islam Khan), formerly *Mir Atash* to Bahadur Shah, who had retired from Court, was restored to his rank of 5,000 (3,000 horse), and appointed to be first *Mir Tuzak*, or quarter-master-general.‡ For the period of one month from the victory at Agra Sadullah Khan§ (son of Inayatullah Khan Kashmiri) was continued in the office of *Khan-saman*, or Lord High Steward; but at the camp in Khizrabad, this office was transferred to Taqarrub Khan (Muhammad Jafar Shirazi), who already held the place of private secretary.**

Some smaller Court offices were conferred on Farrukh-siyar's personal favourites. Although these offices were of the second rank, their holders exercised, as we shall soon see, as much if not more power than the nobles who were nominally their superiors. For instance, against the opinion of Mir Jumla,

---

* Afrasyab Khan Bahadur, Rustam Jang, was Suhrab, known as Mirza Ajmeri son of Garshasp. He died at Dihli on the night of the 25th Ramzan, 1130 H., 21st August, 1718, *Tarikh-i-Mhdi*. His elder brother was the Rashid Khan sent in 1124 H., 1712, to oust Jafar Khan, *nazim* of Bengal, Gladwin, *Transactions*, 96. Mirza Ajmeri was of such strength that once he lifted a small gun and its carriage out of the mud on the road from Akbarnagar to Rajmahal, *Akhbar-i-Muhabbat*, 277.

† *Ahadi* (one, single) means a gentleman trooper serving under no chief or noble, but directly under the Emperor.

‡ This Islam Khan (d. 1144 H., 1731-2), was one Mir Ahmad, first Barkhurdar Khan, then Islam Khan, son of Safi Khan (d. 1105 H., 1693-4), the second son of Abdus-salam, first Ikhtisas Khan, then Islam Khan, Mashhadi, (d. 1057 H., 1647-8), *M. U.*, i. 162, ii. 740.

§ His former titles were Hidayatullah Khan, and then for a time, after the death of Munim Khan, Bahadur Shah's Wazir, he was Wazarat Khan. We shall speak of this man again presently.

** Mirza Muhammad 169; Kamwar Khan 121, 143; Khafi Khan, ii. 728; Warid 149*b*; Kamraj, *Ibratnama*, 53*b*. Khafi Khan says the third *Bakhshi* was Ghazi-ud-din Khan (Ahmad Beg). Yahya Khan, 122*a*, on the contrary, says that this man was made Mir Atash. This latter statement is confirmed by Mhd. Qasim Lahori, 170, the date being 12th Shaban, 1125 H., (2nd September, 1713), *vice* Zulfiqar Khan (Ghulam Ali Khan)

who was officially no more than head of the pages and messengers, the chief minister himself found it impossible to act. The office of Confiscations and Escheats (*buyutati*) was given to Saifullah Khan Bahadur, a *Wala-shahi*; Khwaja Asim, now created Samsam-ud-daulah, Khan Dauran, Bahadur, Mansur Jang, was superintendent of the audience-hall and Bakhshi of the personal troops, or *Wala-shahi*; Ibadullah (Shariyat-ullah Khan) created Mutamid-ul-mulk, Mir Jumla, Muazzam Khan, Khan Khanan, Bahadur, Muzaffar Jang, held the office of superintendent of the *khawas*, or attendants and of the *ghusal-khana*, or privy council room. Ghulam Ali Khan, a *Wala-shahi*, received the title of Zulfiqar Khan, Bahadur, and the command of the artillery; being soon supplanted, however, (12th Shaban 1125 H., 2nd September, 1713), by Ghazi-ud-din Khan (Ahmad Beg). This latter had already obtained charge of the retinue (*jalau*), *vice* Islam Khan, who had held it in addition to his principal office of *Mir Tuzak*. The command of the *chauki-khas*, or bodyguard, was made over to Faizullah Khan, a *Wala-shahi*. Amin-ud-din Khan Sambhali became head of the *arz mukarrar*, or office for the examination and confirmation of appointments. The department of Branding and Mustering (*dagh-o-tashiha*) was given to Sayyid Shujaat-ullah Khan Barha, sister's son of Qutb-ul-mulk, the Wazir. At first Fida Khan* was retained, as in Bahadur Shah's and Jahandar Shah's time, as *qur-begi*, or head of the armoury; but the place was shortly afterwards transferred to Amir Khan (Muhammad Ishaq)† son of the late Amir Khan; then in a few months he gave way in favour of Khwaja Muzaffar Panipati, created Zafar Khan Bahadur, who was known by the nickname of Turra-i-baz.‡

* Formerly Tahavvur Khan, then Fida Khan, son of Salabat Khan, Khwaja Mir, Khwafi, (d. early in 1104 H., 1693-4), *M. U.* ii. 742, 745.

† Afterwards Umdat-ul-mulk, A. K., assassinated 1159 H., 1746-7.

‡ *Turra*, waving ringlets, or the hanging end of a turban; *Turra-i-baz*, 'a falcon's crest.' Zafar Khan and all his men wore their turbans in the same way, with an end sticking out, and from this peculiarity the nickname arose. Khush-hal Chand, 403*b*, explains that the *turra* were of gold and silk brocade (*badalah*), and were used extensively as ornaments to Zafar Khan's equipage. In lot No. 698 in B. Quaritch's catalogue, No. 161,

The *sadarat-i-kul*, or superintendence of charitable and religious grants, was given to Sayyid Afzal, who had taught Farrukh-siyar to read the *Quran*, with the title of Sayyid Afzal Khan Bahadur, Sadar Jahan.*

The provincial Governments were next provided for. Kabul was left in the hands of Nasir Khan, Bahadur, Nasir Jang. Kashmir was taken from Inayatullah Khan, whose *mansab* even was cancelled, and he was replaced by Sadat Khan,† the new Emperor's father-in-law, to whom permission to govern by deputy was accorded. Zabardast Khan entitled Ali Mardan Khan (III), son of Ibrahim Khan, Ali Mardan Khan (II), son of Amir-ul-umara, Ali Mardan Khan (I)‡ died at Lahor before he could be removed ; he was replaced by Abdus-samad Khan Bahadur, (subsequently made Diler Jang, after his victories over the Sikhs). Multan was conferred on Qutb-ul-mulk, the Wazir, but Sher Afkan Khan Bahadur, (brother of Lutfullah Khan Sadiq), who had been in charge on behalf of Kokaltash Khan (Ali Murad) remained on as the deputy of the new governor. For the preceding fifteen or sixteen years Dihli had been held by Muhammad Yar Khan, and he was left undisturbed. Ajmer was made over to Sayyid Muzaffar Khan Barha (recently created Sayyid Khan Jahan Bahadur), maternal uncle of Qutb-ul-mulk. Shahamat Khan (son-in-law of Inayatullah Khan

of July 1896, there was a portrait of Roshan-ud-daulah (*i.e.*, Zafar Khan) which I inspected. It showed a rather stout and not very tall man, with a broad and slightly heavy face, white beard and moustache, the latter slightly black still at the corners of the mouth. To the band or ribbon round the centre of the turban was attached an ornament (*sarpech*) and from it hung a long feather, falling backwards and ending in two small points. Perhaps this feather represents the *Turra-i-baz*?

* Mirza Muhammad, 169.

† Mir Muhammad Takki, Husaini, Mazandarani, Isfahani, son of Sadat Khan, wounded on the day of Farrukh-siyar's deposition, in Rabi 1131 H., February 1719, and died a few days afterwards aged over eighty years—*Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*.

‡ Md. Khalil, entitled first Zabardast Khan, then Ali Mardan Khan Zik, died a little before the 9th Jamadi I. 1125 H., 2nd June, 1713, *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* and Kamwar Khan. For this family, see *M. U.* i. 295-300, ii. 795, and iii. 155.

Kashmiri) who had been governor of Gujarat in Bahadur Shah's reign, received the new title of Mubariz Khan and was confirmed in his old appointment. Rajah Chabela Ram, a personal adherent of Farrukh-siyar's family and a brave soldier, whose welfare was dear to the heart of the Emperor, was sent at first to Agra, his birthplace, but on the pretext that he was unable to cope with Churaman Jat, he was soon replaced by Samsam-ud-daulah Khan Dauran, also a native of Agra. Oudh was given to Sarbuland Khan, the Emperor's uncle by marriage, and Allahabad to Khan Jahan (son of the late Khan Jahan Bahadur Kokaltash Alamgiri). The latter had been recently removed from the Government of Bengal. His titles were now increased to Azz-ud-daulah Khan Bahadur. Shahamat Khan (Mubariz Khan) had lately held Malwa in addition to Gujarat. Malwa was now taken from him and given over to Rajah Jai Singh of Amber. To conciliate the Rajah, he was told that he need not come to Court, but might march straight from his own country to his new Government. 'Azimabad Patna (Bihar) was confirmed, as before' to Husain Ali Khan, Amir-ul-umara; his sister's son, Ghairat Khan, who had been left behind in charge, continuing to act as his deputy. Bengal was conferred on the infant Prince, the Emperor's son, Farkhunda Bakht, entitled Jahangir Shah, with the former *diwan*, Murshid Quli Khan, as his deputy. The latter's titles were increased to Jafar Khan Nasiri. In a few months' time, when the infant died of small-pox, the *subah* was granted to Mir Jumla, with the same deputy. To Orissa, Murshid Quli Khan (Jafar Khan) was appointed subahdar in his own name. [M.M. 174.]

For the six provinces making up the Dakhin special arrangements were made. The supreme control of the whole country was confided to Chin Qilich Khan (son of the late Ghazi-ud-din Khan Firuz Jang), who on this occasion was created Nizam-ul-mulk, Bahadur Fath Jang. He was empowered to select the lands to be held in jagir for furnishing the pay of himself and his followers, and to suggest the rank (*mansab*) to be granted to the chief landholders. His head-quarters were fixed at Aurangabad. In Burhanpur his deputy was to be Sukr-ullah Khan, to make room for whom Daud Khan Panni was removed

as deputy-governor to Ahmadabad in Gujarat; in the two Karnatak, Sadat-ullah Khan; in Berar, Iwaz Khan, who was married to the late Ghazi-ud-din Khan's sister, and was, therefore, Nizam-ul-mulk's uncle by marriage. Bidar, Bijapur, and Haidarabad were to remain as before under Amin Khan (son of Khan Zaman Bahadur Fath Jang, deceased), Mansur Khan and Yusuf Khan respectively. Haidar Quli Khan Isfaraini, a protégé of Mir Jumla, was sent as *diwan* of the whole Dakhin, with authority over every department, except those of the nazim, of the report writers, and of the deciding of suits.*

The Sayyid brothers are generally accused of grasping all power and office for themselves and friends to the exclusion of everybody else. It is curious to note, after going through the chief appointments, that this accusation should have so little foundation. Besides the two offices which were the price of their services, they received the government of two *subahs* for themselves and one for an uncle. They seem to have obtained very little else, while the Emperor's friends and the Turani chiefs obtained the lion's share. A crowd of new men were thus brought on the stage, and it is necessary for the sake of clearness that we should say something about the most prominent of them, their origin and antecedents.

SEC. 7.—ITIMAD-UD-DAULAH MUHAMMAD AMIN KHAN BAHADUR NUSRAT JANG.

Muhammad Amin Khan was a native of Samarqand in the kingdom of Bukhara. His grandfather, Alam Shaikh, a learned man and a descendant of the Shaikh Shahab-ud-din Quraishi, Tarmani, Sadiqi, of Sahrward, had two sons, Khwaja Abid and Mir Baha-ud-din. The elder son came to India and was the father of Ghazi-ud-din Khan Firuz Jang; the second son,

* Mirza Muhammad 177, Khafi Khan 740. Biographies of some of the above men will be found as follows. Daud Khan Panni, d. 1127 H., 1715-16, (*Masir-ul-umara*, ii. 63). Sadat-ullah Khan, a Nawayat (see Wilks, i. 242), died 1145 H., 1732-33, (*M. U.* ii. 513). Iwaz Khan, d. 1143 H., 1730-31, (*M. U.* ii. 832). Amin Khan, d. 1137 H. 1724-25, (*M. U.* i. 352), fourth son of Shaikh Nizam Khan Zaman, d. 1108 H., 1696-97, (*ibid* i. 794), captor of Shambhaji Mahratta. Mansur Khan was a Roz Bahani.

Mir Baha-ud-din, Muhammad Amin's father, entered the employ of the ruler of Bukhara, and was by him executed on suspicion of complicity with his rebellious son. This event happened about the year 1098 H. (1686-7), when Mir Muhammad Amin must have been about twenty-five years of age. He escaped to India and was favourably received by Alamgir, then in the Dakhin, by whom he was sent to serve with his cousin, Firuz Jang. In the forty-second year, 1109-10 H., 1697-8, when Alamgir was anxious to find in the Turanis a counterpoise to Asad Khan, the Wazir, and his son, Zulfiqar Khan, Muhammad Amin Khan was brought to Court and made *Sadar*, or head of the charitable and religious endowments. In 1115-16 H., 1704-5, and again in 1116-17 H., his rank was raised in reward for military services, and in the very last year of Alamgir's reign (1118 H.), after defeating the Mahrattas, he received the special addition of *Chin Bahadur* to his other titles. Although the Turanis had not shown any great zeal for his rival, Azam Shah, still Bahadur Shah did not receive them into the same favour as before. Muhammad Amin Khan was sent to Muradabad as *faujdar* ; but towards the end of the reign, he was brought back to head-quarters, and took a leading part in the campaign against the Sikhs. When Jahandar Shah decided to march against Farrukh-siyar, Muhammad Amin Khan was recalled from Sarhind. He was present in Jahandar Shah's ranks at Agra, but as we have related, took no serious part in the fighting. This betrayal was now rewarded by his appointment to be second Bakhshi of the Empire. At this time he was about fifty-two years of age, and since the death of Firuz Jang in 1122 H., 1710-11, he had become the acknowledged leader of the Turani soldiery, his cousin, Chin Qilich Khan (Nizam-ul-mulk), son of Firuz Jang, being about ten years his junior. [*M. U.* i. 346.]

SEC. 8.—SAMSAM-UD-DAULAH, KHAN DAURAN, BAHADUR, MANSUR JANG.

Khwaja Asim's ancestors, emigrating from a village in Badakhshan, took up their residence in Agra. Some followed the profession of soldiering, others gained reputation as men of

learning and holiness, living secluded from the world. They were of the Naqshbandi sect. His father's name was Khwaja Qasim: and as his birth took place about 1083 H., 1672-3, he was now about forty-two (lunar) years of age. He began life as a trooper of Prince Azim-ush-shan's regiment, and when that Prince, at the time of Alamgir's death, left Bengal for Agra, Khwaja Asim remained with Farrukh-siyar in the former province. One author asserts that he had been a play-fellow of Farrukh-siyar's, but as he was at least eleven years older, this can hardly be correct. His intimacy with the Prince was founded, however, on his joining him in wrestling, archery, riding, polo playing and other war-like exercises, of which Farrukh-siyar was passionately fond. He soon obtained such great influence with the young Prince that the other courtiers complained to Azim-ush-shan. The Khwaja was accordingly sent for to head-quarters at Lahor. Soon after this, Bahadur Shah died and Khwaja Asim (now become Ashraf Khan) upon the death of his master, Azim-ush-shan, fled to Agra. Here Khwaja Jafar, his elder brother, tried to make him renounce the world and thus save his soul. For a time he stopped at home and occupied himself with Shirazi pigeon-fancying and archery. When Farrukh-siyar became next heir to the throne, Khwaja Asim "felt like a falcon newly moulted." He began to collect some men, but his doings were reported to the governor. Being warned by a disciple of a resolve to seize him, he fled at midnight in the disguise of a faqir. On reaching Patna, he was introduced by the two Sayyids to the Prince, his former intimacy with whom he is said to have concealed. From this point the part he took has already appeared in our history.*

Khan Dauran was the perfect type of the Indian courtier, and from this time until his death in 1151 H. 1738, he retained his position at Court, whoever was in power. He is described as a man of smooth plausible speech, with no learning and little knowledge of Persian, prefixing to every sentence the catch word *mera sahib*! (my good sir). To conceal his limited

---

* *M. U.* i. 817, *Ahwal-ul-khawaqin* 49b, *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* (year 1151 H.)

acquaintance with Persian, he used to begin by speaking in elegant Urdu, so that he might charm his hearers at the outset and prevent their noticing his defective scholarship. He used to say that for a man born in India to attempt to speak Persian was to make himself ridiculous by his own act. But he could quote occasionally with good effect Persian couplets or proverbs. An elder brother had been formerly in the service of Azim-ush-shan and was killed in the campaign in Bengal against Rahim Khan Afghan. Much of Khan Dauran's prestige may have been derived from his commanding presence. A contemporary tells us that when he walked up the audience-hall with a group of followers, his head would be seen towering far above the others. From all accounts he and his brother, Muzaffar Khan, were boasters of a most extravagant order, while their courage was more than doubtful. At any rate, they rarely put it to the test. Khan Dauran might, indeed, have qualified as a member of the Peace Society, for whenever the subject was broached, he would ask, "What is to be gained by going to war?" He was one of those men, never absent from Eastern Courts, who do absolutely nothing, either in war or in peace, as a return for the rank and wealth which have been showered upon them. His hand was in every intrigue, and never without profit to himself. Throughout his career, he was the favourer of the Hindustani party in the State, the person through whom Jat or Rajput chiefs put forward any claim they might wish to advance. Especially was this the case with Rajah Jai Singh, for whom as we shall see, Khan Dauran obtained many favours. [*M. U.* i. 819, Yahya 119*b*, Ashob 73.]

SEC. 9.—GHAZI-UD-DIN KHAN GHALIB JANG, (AHMAD BEG).

When Farrukh-siyar first reached Azimabad Patna, Shariyat-ullah Khan (Mir Jumla) and Khwaja Asim (Khan Dauran) not being present, Ahmad Beg became for a time his most active assistant and principal confidant. He was one of the foster brothers of Jahandar Shah,* but having quarrelled with that

* Yahya Khan, 119*a*, says he was the *nawasah* (daughter's son) of Qaim Beg Shahjahani.

Prince on account of the preference shown for Ali Murad Kokaltash Khan, he sought a refuge in Bengal. When Farrukh-siyar's more particular favourites returned, they supplanted Ahmad Beg in the Prince's good graces, and from that time he seems to have fallen a good deal into the back ground. Ahmad Beg, a man of Turani race, was born about 1076 H. 1665-6. From the scantiness of his beard, he bore the nickname of *Kosa*, or Goatbeard.* His further part in history is confined to two occasions, the day of Farrukh-siyar's deposition, when he fought in the streets on his master's behalf, and again at the time when he took the side of Qutb-ul-mulk, after the murder of Husain Ali Khan. When Muhammad Shah pardoned him, it was proposed to take away his title of Ghalib Jang, as it had been granted to a brother of Lutfullah Khan Sadiq. Ghazi-ud-din Khan made loud objection, and claimed that, as both he and the new "Conqueror in War" were present, they should fight it out in single combat, the victor becoming in both senses *Ghalib-i-jang*. The Emperor smiled and left him in undisturbed possession. He died on the 12th Safar, 1139 H., (8th October, 1726), at the age of sixty-three (lunar) years. [*M. U.* ii. 879, *T. M.* year 1139.]

SEC. 10.—MIR JUMLA.

The name of this man, a native of Samarqand in Turan, was Ubaidullah, son of Mir Muhammad Wafa, and he was born about the year 1081 H., 1670-1. Early in life he abandoned his native country and repaired to Hindustan, where he arrived in the reign of Alamgir. He obtained in time the post of *Qazi* at Jahangirnagar Dacca in *subah* Bengal, and finally the same office at Azimabad Patna in *subah* Bihar. He seems to have wormed himself into the confidence of Prince Azim-ush-shan, then governor of Bengal and Bihar, and to have obtained complete control over the mind of his second son, Farrukh-siyar.

* The epithet is borne out by a portrait that I saw lately at Mr. Quaritch's (one of the drawings mentioned on the cover of his catalogue No. 155, December 1895). Ghalib Jang is shown seated, and is dressed in a pale mauve coat of thin muslin. His beard consists of four or five short, straight hairs.

He was with Prince Azim-ush-shan at Lahor, and as we have already stated, was making his way eastwards to Farrukh-siyar when he met and joined that Prince at Agra. He had secured himself a very favourable reception by his successful negotiations with the Turani leaders in Jahandar Shah's army. From this time his name will recur frequently in our narrative. His titles were first Shariyat-ullah Khan, then Ibadullah Khan, Bahadur, Muzaffar Jang, and finally Mutamid-ul-mulk, Muazzam Khan, Khan Khanan, Bahadur, Muzaffar Jang, Mir Jumla, Tarkhani, Sultani. He is described by one writer as a man who, in spite of his great learning, was blind to the essential meaning of things. [*M. U.* iii. 711, *Ahwal-ul-khawaqin,* 61*a*.]

SEC. 11.—NIZAM-UL-MULK.

Perhaps the most important person in the group of men that rose into the very first rank upon Farrukh-siyar's accession, was Nizam-ul-mulk, now a man of nearly forty-three (lunar) years of age, who was already a distinguished soldier and provincial governor, even in Alamgir's reign. Hitherto, however, he had been overshadowed by his father, Ghazi-ud-din Khan Firuz Jang, who had died only two years before this time, and by his cousin, a much older man, Muhammad Amin Khan Chin Bahadur. But on Nizam-ul-mulk's appointment in 1125 H. (1713) to the six *subahs* of the Dakhin, he rose to a position of preeminence, which he never for one moment lost till his death in 1161 H. (1748), thirty-five years afterwards.

As stated a few pages back, when speaking of Muhammad Amin Khan, the family of Nizam-ul-mulk came from Samarqand. His great grand-father was Alam Shaikh, son of Allahdad, son of Abdur-rahman Shaikh Azizan. They are said to have come originally from Sahrward. Khwaja Abid, son of Alam Shaikh, moved to Bukhara, where he was first of all *Qazi,* then Shaikh-ul-islam. A year or two before Alamgir ascended the throne (1066-67 H., 1655-56), he passed through India on his way to Mecca. He returned at the time when Alamgir was about to start from the Dakhin to seize his father's throne. Alamgir accepted his services and gave him a high command. He filled various offices, such as that of *Sadar-i-kul,* or superintendent of

endowments, governor of Ajmer, then of Multan. In the twenty-fourth year (1091-2 H., 1680-1) he fell into disgrace, but was soon pardoned and again given the *Sadarat-i-kul*. A year afterwards he was sent to the Dakhin, and then in the twenty-ninth year (1096-7 H., 1685-6), he became governor of Zafarabad Bidar. He continued to serve with distinction in the Dakhin, until on the 24th Rabi I. 1098 H. (30th January, 1687), at the siege of Golkonda, he was shot in the arm and died of the wound. In the twenty-third year (1090-1) he had received the title of Qilich Khan. He had five sons, the two youngest of whom died comparatively early in life without rising very high. The second and third sons, Muizz-ud-daulah Hamid Khan, and Nasir-ud-daulah Abdur-rahim Khan, were men of some fame and distinction. But the greatest of all was the eldest son, Ghazi-ud-din Khan Firuz Jang, and to him we now turn.

Mir Shahab-ud-din was born at Samarqand about the year 1060 H. (1649-50) ; and followed his father to India in the twelfth year of Alamgir (1079-80 H., 1668-69), when he was in his nineteenth or twentieth year. He received the rank of 300 *zat*, 70 horse. His special favour with Alamgir began ten years later when, at the peril of his life, he brought speedy information from a general who had been sent in pursuit of the Rana into the hills of Udaipur, and of whose safety no tidings could be obtained. For this service he obtained the title of Khan and from that time rose rapidly, especially after he had proved his loyalty by rejecting all advances from the Emperor's rebel son, Prince Akbar. He accompanied the Emperor into the Dakhin and took part in all the campaigns there for the succeeding five and twenty years. He conquered Ibrahimgarh-Yadgiri (also called Firuzgarh) ; was conspicuous in the taking of Haidarabad ; Adoni (Imtiyaz-garh) also fell before him. He was sent against Shambhaji, son of Shivaji, in 1099-1100 H. (1687-88), and served against Deogarh (Islamgarh), which he captured. In the forty-eighth year, 1115-16 H., 1703-4, he pursued the Mahrattas into Malwa. At the time of Alamgir's death in 1118 H., 1707, he was at Elichpur, in charge of the subah of Berar. As we have already recounted (under Bahadur Shah's reign), he took no part in the war of succession between

Azam Shah and Bahadur Shah. The Turanis were not in favour with the victor, Bahadur Shah, and thus Firuz Jang was moved out of the Dakhin, where he was dangerous, to the Government of Ahmadabad in Gujarat. There he died on the 17th Shawwal 1122 H. (8th December, 1710) at the age of sixty-two (lunar) years. He held the rank of 7,000 *zat*. Following the usual Mughal system, his estate was confiscated on his death. It consisted of 1½ lakhs of Rupees in bills on bankers, 133,000 gold *muhars* 25,000 *hun* (gold) and *nim-paoli* (gold), 17,000 gold *paoli*, 400 *adheli* (half) and 8,000 whole silver *paoli*, 140 horses, 300 camels, 400 oxen and 38 elephants.

Ghazi-ud-din Khan is described as the most exceptionally gifted among the Turani nobles, good-natured, dignified, fortunate in war and an excellent administrator. His first wife was the daughter of Sadullah Khan,* Wazir of Shah Jahan; after her death he married in succession two of her nieces, daughters of her brother, Hifz-ullah Khan (Miyan Khan), but by these two wives he had no children. For the last twenty years of his life he was totally blind, his sight having been destroyed by an epidemic which raged in the army under his command. In spite of this privation, his active career continued as before; such a case having been until then unknown in India, of a blind man continuing to command an army in the field or govern a province.

Mir Qamar-ud-din, son of Ghazi-ud-din Khan by the daughter of Shah Jahan's Wazir, Sadullah Khan, was born on the 14th Rabi II. 1082 H., (11th August, 1671).† In 1095 H. (1683-4) when in his thirteenth year, he received as his first appointment in the service of the State, the rank of 400 *zat*,

---

* S. K. died 1066 H., 1655-56, see *M. U.* ii. 441 and *T. M.* year 1066 H.

† In many works there is a curious mistake as to Nizam-ul-mulk's age. He is said to have died in 1161 H., (1748), at the age of one hundred and four years. (Orme, *Military Transactions*, Madras reprint, i. 122). Grant Duff, *History of the Mahrattas*, Bombay reprint, 265, repeats the statement, probably copying from Orme. Nizam-ul-mulk's birth year was 1082 H.; and therefore, in 1161 H., when he died, he could have been no more than 79 lunar or 77 solar years of age.

100 horse. In the following year the title of Khan was added to his name. In 1101 or 1102 H., (1690-1), he received the title of Chin Qilich Khan, and at Alamgir's death in 1118 H., 1707, he was governor of Bijapur. His father and he took no part in the contest for the throne between the sons of Alamgir: and when Bahadur Shah had succeeded in defeating his rival, he removed the Turanis from the Dakhin, possibly on the advice of Zulfiqar Khan, who looked on them as his personal enemies. Ghazi-ud-din Khan Firuz Jang was sent to Ahmadabad in Gujarat, Muhammad Amin Khan Chin went to Muradabad as *faujdar* and Chin Qilich Khan was appointed subahadar of Oudh and faujdar of Gorakhpur (15th Ramzan, 1119 H., 9th December, 1707). At the same time the title of the last-named was changed to that of Khan Dauran Bahadur, and he was raised to 6000 *zat,* 6000 horse. A few weeks afterwards (5th Zul Qada, 27th January, 1708), he resigned all his titles and appointments ; but at the desire of Munim Khan, the Wazir, he withdrew his resignation and was promoted to 7,000 *zat,* 7,000 horse. When his father died and the deceased's property was confiscated, Chin Qilich Khan (Khan Dauran as he then was) sent in his resignation afresh, 18th Zul Hijja 1122 H., 6th February, 1711 ; this time it was accepted, and 4,000 Rupees a year were granted for his support. Quite at the end of Bahadur Shah's reign he returned to the active list with the titles of Ghazi-ud-din Khan Bahadur Firuz Jang. On Bahadur Shah's death, he attempted to espouse the cause of Azim-ush-shan, who long before had promised him high office, and he had made one march from Dihli at the head of 3,000 or 4,000 men, when he heard of the Prince's death. Thereupon he discharged his men and retired into private life. Abdus-samad Khan was the brother-in-law of his cousin, Muhammad Amin Khan, and this man's services to Zulfiqar Khan had been so great, that on his account Chin Qilich Khan's hostile attitude was overlooked. Towards the end of Jahandar Shah's short reign, he was appointed to the defence of Agra. There he and his cousin were brought over to Farrukh-siyar's interest, as already related, through Shariyat-ullah Khan (Mir Jumla), and as a reward for his neutrality he was now made governor of the whole Dakhin,

with the new titles first of Khan Khanan, and then of Nizam-ul-mulk, Bahadur, Fath Jang.*

SEC. 12.—THE STATE OF PARTIES AT COURT.

The names, Mughal, Turani, and Irani, appear so frequently in our narrative, and so much turns upon the relation to each other of the various groups into which the army and officials were divided, that a few words of explanation will be necessary for a clear understanding of what follows. Ever since the Muhammadan conquest of India, adventurers from the countries to the west and north-west flocked into it as to a Promised Land, a land flowing with milk and honey. The establishment of a dynasty, of which the founder, Babar, was a native of Trans-Oxiana, gave a further stimulus to this exodus into India, where fighting men from the fatherland of the imperial house were always welcome. They formed the backbone of the army of occupation. Their numbers were increased still further during the twenty-five years or more, from 1680 to 1707, during which Alamgir waged incessant war in the Dakhin, first with the local Muhammadan States and then with the Mahrattas.

These foreigners, at least the greater number of them, were either Afghans or Mughals ; if the latter, they were known as either Turani or Irani Mughals. In using this term Mughal, I vouch in no way for its accurate application, ethnographically or otherwise. It must be understood to be an unquestioning acceptance of the term as employed by Indian writers of the period. Every man from beyond the Oxus or from any of the provinces of the Persian kingdom was to them a Mughal. If his home was in Turan, north of the Oxus, he was a Turani ; if south of it, in the region of Iran, he was an Irani Mughal. The Turanis were of the Sunni sect, the prevalent belief of Muhammadan India, and came from the old home of the reigning

* Fath Jang is the title by which he is most commonly referred to by Khafi Khan. Mirza Muhammad, 399, is the authority for Khan Khanan. For the rest of the above paragraphs, see *Masir-ul-umara*, iii. 120 (Qilich Khan), ii. 872, (Firuz Jang), iii. 837 and 875-883 (Nizam-ul-mulk), also *Tarikh-i-Khurshid-Jahi*, p. 372 (lithographed, Haidarabad, 1287 H.), *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 242, 249, 259, 340, and Kamwar Khan.

dynasty. For these reasons, they were highly favoured by the Indian Emperors, and owing to their great numbers and the ability, military and civil, of their leaders, formed a very powerful body both in the army and the State generally. The Iranis were Shias and were not so numerous as the Turanis ; yet they included among them men of good birth and great ability, who attained to the highest positions, many of the chief posts in the State having been filled by them. Shiraz, in the Persian province of Fars, furnished much the largest number of these Persians ; most of the best physicians, poets, and men learned in the law came from that town. Owing to the difference of religion, principally, there was a strong feeling of animosity, ever ready to spring into active operation, between the Turanis and the Iranis ; but as against the Hindustanis the two sections were always ready to combine.

Men from the region between the Indus on the east, and Kabul and Qandahar on the west, were called Afghans. Those from the nearer hills, south-west of Peshawar, are sometimes distinguished by the epithet *Rohela,* or hill-man. But Indian writers of the eighteenth century never use the word Pathan, nor in their writings is there anything to bear out the theory that the Afghan and the Pathan are two different races.* The part of the Afghan country lying nearest the Indus furnished the majority of the Afghan soldiers who resorted to India ; and, as might be expected from their comparative nearness to India, they probably outnumbered the Mughals. In any case, they seem to have had a talent for forming permanent settlements in India, which neither the Mughal nor the Persian has displayed. All over Northern India, Pathan villages are numerous to this day. As instances, Qasur near Lahor, numerous villages between Dihli and Ambala, the town of Jalalabad, the city of Farrukhabad, and other places in the Jamuna-Ganges *Duaba,* also many villages and towns in Rohilkhand, come to mind at once. But the Afghans, in spite of their numbers and their hold on the land, hardly played any part in the political history of the day until Ali Muhammad Khan Daudzai established himself

* H. W. Bellew, *Inquiry* (1891), p. 206.

as a ruler in Bareli and Anwalah, and Muhammad Khan Bangash did the same in Farrukhabad. But, after the fifteen years' rule of Sher Shah and his successors (1540-1555), the Afghans were much prized as valiant soldiers. Their weakness was too great love of money, and too great a readiness to desert one employer for another, if he made a higher bid. They were too rough and illiterate to obtain much distinction in civil life. It is said that during Shah Jahan's reign (1627-1658), Afghans were discouraged and employed as seldom as possible. It was not until Alamgir began his campaign in the Dakhin (1681-1707) that they again found favour, those nobles who had Afghan soldiers receiving the most consideration. [*Dil.* 173*b*.]

Other foreigners, serving in small numbers in the Mughal service, were the Arabs, Habshis, Rumis, and Farangis. As soldiers these men were found almost entirely in the artillery. Arabs were, of course, from Arabia itself ; Habshis* came from Africa, mostly negroes ; Rumis were Muhammadans from Constantinople or elsewhere in the Turkish Empire ; Farangi, that is Frank, was the name of any European. Eunuchs were generally of Habshi race, and the chief police officer of Dihli was frequently a Habshi. There were some Frank, or Farangi, physicians ; one of the name of Martin, or Martin Khan, probably a Frenchman, died at Dihli about the middle of the eighteenth century, after living there for many years.

In opposition to the Mughal or foreign, was the home-born or Hindustani party. It was made up of Muhammadans born in India, many of them descended in the second or third generation from foreign immigrants. Men like the Sayyids of Barha, for instance, whose ancestors had settled in India many generations before, came, of course, under the description of Hindustani or *Hindustan-za* (Indian-born). To this class also belonged all the Rajput and Jat chiefs, and other powerful Hindu landowners. Naturally, too, the very numerous and industrious body of Hindus, who filled all the subordinate offices of a civil nature, attached themselves to the same side. Panjab Khatris were very numerous in this official class ; most of the

* Habsh is the name for Abyssinia, but the name Habshi was used in a more general sense for all Africans.

rest were Agarwal Baniyas or Kayaths. It also comprised many Muhammadans from Kashmir, who seem to have rivalled the Hindus as secretaries and men of business.

Nor, in speaking of the India-born party, must we forget the sub-division among them due to the repugnance, even to this day so strongly shown, of Western Hindustanis or Panjabis to men from Eastern Hindustan or Bengal. Crowds of men from Bengal had followed in Farrukh-siyar's train. Khush-hal Chand, in an amusing outburst, [406] declares that "God created the Purbiyah (man from the East) without shame, without faith, without kindness, without heart, malevolent, niggardly, beggarly, cruel ; ready to sell his children in the *bazar* on the smallest provocation ; but to spend a penny, he thinks that a crime equal to matricide." When they entered the imperial service, they required a signet-ring, but many tried to talk over the seal-cutters and get these for nothing. He admits that there were a few notable exceptions, but then as the saying is, "Neither is every woman a woman, nor every man, a man ; God has not made all five fingers the same."

A cross-division, to which we must draw attention, as it is a most important one, was that into Emperor's friends and Wazir's friends. In the reign of Farrukh-siyar this was the most decisive of all distinctions. From almost the first day of the reign till the very last, we shall find the whole situation to turn upon it. A small number of private favourites, such as Mir Jumla, Khan Dauran, and at a later stage, Itiqad Khan (Mhd. Murad), formed a centre to which the other great nobles, each in turn, rallied, only to retire in disgust after a short experience of Farrukh-siyar's shiftiness and want of resolution.

SEC. 13.—SEVERITIES INFLICTED AT THE INSTIGATION OF MIR JUMLA (MARCH 1713—APRIL 1714).

The opening of the reign was marked by many executions and other severities to men belonging to the defeated party, and such terror of strangulation spread among the nobles who had held office during the reigns of Alamgir and Bahadur Shah, that every time they started for the audience, they took a formal farewell of their wives and children. The whole of these

severities are attributed, and apparently with truth, to the influence of Mir Jumla.* Although it involves a slight break in the chronological order, these events will be grouped together.

The first of these executions took place by Farrukh-siyar's orders during the night of the 2nd Rabi I. 1125 H. (28th March, 1713). Sadullah Khan, son of Inayatullah Khan Kashmiri, Hidayat Kesh Khan, a Hindu convert, who had been central news-writer (*waqia-nigar-i-kul*)† and Sidi Qasim Habshi, late kotwal or police officer of Dihli, were the victims. They were strangled by the Qalmaq slaves (Sadullah Khan struggling with them till he was overpowered), and their bodies were exposed for three days on the sandy space below the citadel. It is difficult to decide what Sadullah Khan's crime had been. In the last year of Bahadur Shah's reign he was deputy Wazir with the title of Wazarat Khan, and his temporary adhesion to Jahandar Shah was no worse crime in him than in many others who were pardoned. At first, Farrukh-siyar had received him with favour. But on the 21st Muharram 1125 H. (16th February, 1713), immediately after the Emperor had visited Padshah Begam, the daughter of Alamgir, Sadullah Khan was sent to prison and his property confiscated. As to the reason for his disgrace, there are two versions, with both of which the name of Padshah Begam is mixed up. As told by Khafi Khan, it would appear that a forged letter had been sent to Farrukh-siyar in the name of Padshah Begam asking for the removal of Sadullah Khan. The Begam is represented as having repudiated this letter, when Farrukh-siyar visited her *after* the execution of Sadullah Khan. But the only visit that is recorded took place a month *before* his execution.

The other version is that Farrukh-siyar had consulted Padshah Begam as to his conduct towards Asad Khan and Zulfiqar Khan. She wrote a reply counselling him not to deal severely with them, but to admit them to favour and maintain

* Khafi Khan, ii. 732. Yahya Khan, 121*b*, puts all these executions to the account of the two Sayyids. The *Ahwal-ul-khawaqin*, 62*a*, names one Ashur Khan as head of the executioners.

† His original name was Bhola Nath, and he succeeded to the office on his father, Chatar Mal's, death in 1109 H., *M-i-A.*, 396.

them in office. She made over the letter to Sadullah Khan, who was her *Mir-i-saman*, or steward. As he was strongly opposed to Zulfiqar Khan, owing to the quarrel about the appointment of a successor to Munim Khan, Bahadur Shah's Wazir, and also hoped that a rival's removal would increase his own chance of becoming *Wazir* he extracted the real letter and substituted one of an entirely contrary effect, or, as one version says, altered the words "should not kill" (*na bayad kusht*) into "should kill" (*bayad kusht*). Padshah Begam reproached Farrukh-siyar for having taken Zulfiqar Khan's life. The Emperor pulled her letter out of his pocket and the substitution of the forged letter was thus discovered. Sadullah Khan was immediately arrested. This second story certainly appears the more probable of the two.*

Hidayat Kesh Khan's crime was that he had denounced to Jahandar Shah the hiding-place of Muhammad Karim, the new Emperor's brother, and thus indirectly led to that Prince's life being taken. Some say that, in addition, he behaved in a harsh and insolent manner to him when he was made prisoner. No one knows what Sidi Qasim had done to deserve death, unless it be attributed to private revenge. As *faujdar* of some of the parganas near Dihli he had executed the son of a tradesman named Udhu. This man, thirsting for the *kotwal's* blood, levied a contribution of ten or twelve Rupees on each shop in the quarters of Shahganj and Shahdara. Having collected a very large sum, he paid it over to Mir Jumla, and secured in exchange the arrest and execution of Sidi Qasim.†

The next cruelty was done on Sabha Chand, the Hindu confidant of the late Zulfiqar Khan. On the 11th Jamadi II. 1125 H. (4th July 1713), he was made over to Mir Jumla. The next day it was intimated to the Emperor that Sabha Chand's tongue had been cut out, as a punishment for the foul language that he had constantly used. The strange thing was that after this

---

* *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, p. 155, Khush-hal Chand 397*b*. There is a separate biography in *M. U.* ii. 504. Sadullah Khan was the second son of Inayatullah Khan Kashmiri. It is said in the *Makhzan-ul-gharaib* that he wrote under the name of Hidayat. (Ethé, Bodleian Catalogue, No. 395).

† Khush-hal Chand 398*a*, Kamwar Khan 134, Khafi Khan ii. 735.

deprivation* he was still able to talk and make himself understood. [K. K. 735.]

After Sabha Chand, came the turn of Shah Qudrat-ullah of Allahabad. His father, Shaikh Abdul-Jalil, was a man of learning of the Sufi sect, who lived in Allahabad. On his death, Qudrat-ullah succeeded to his influence and position, being himself a man of learning and considerable eloquence. Prince Azim-ush-shan chanced to make Qudrat-ullah's acquaintance, and took such a fancy to him that he could not bear him to be away from his side. Wherever the Prince went, the Shaikh accompanied him ; and in the end, the Shaikh became all-powerful. In the last years of Bahadur Shah's reign all business passed through his second son's hands, and Qudrat-ullah was that Prince's right hand. It was as if the whole Empire had fallen under his rule, even the Wazir and his sons asking him to plead for them. The refusal to appoint Zulfiqar Khan to succeed Munim Khan and the appointment instead of a deputy, Hidayatullah Khan (Sadullah Khan), were due to Shaikh Qudrat-ullah, although he had no official rank whatever. In the struggle for the throne his advice prevailed over that of all others. After Azim-ush-shan's death, the Shaikh, fearing the resentment of Zulfiqar Khan, hid himself and escaped secretly to his home at Allahabad. When Farrukh-siyar started for Agra to confront Jahandar Shah, the Shaikh, believing success to be utterly impossible stayed quietly at home, not even coming to present his respects. After the victory had been won, the Shaikh still hesitated to return to Court, since in his day of power he had conciliated no one, not even the sons of his patron. Then one Mulla Shadman, a holy man of Patna Azimabad, passed through on his way to Dihli. It is commonly asserted that this man had prophesied that Farrukh-siyar would gain the throne, and from this cause the Prince had acquired the greatest confidence in his powers. Qudrat-ullah, thinking the Mulla's

* B. M. *Or. 1690, fol.* 165*a*, gives the 13th as the date. He was released on the 17th Jamadi II. 1126 H., at the request of Qutb-ul-mulk, after paying a fine of Rs. 1,00,000 (Kamwar Khan, 147). Rai Sabha (or Sambha) Chand Khatri died at Dihli in the end of Jamadi I. 1137 H. (Jan.-Feb., 1725), aged nearly 70 years (*T-i-Mhdi.*)

protection would be certain to secure him a favourable reception, joined his party and they travelled together to Dihli.*

On reaching Dihli, the Mulla was admitted to an audience and received with great cordiality. Assured of his own favour with the new Emperor, the Mulla arranged that at his second interview Qudrat-ullah should accompany him. The Mulla passed on into the *tasbih-khana* (chaplet-room or oratory), where the Emperor was, intending to mention Qudrat-ullah's name and obtain leave to produce him. Mir Jumla, who was with Farrukh-siyar, heard what the Mulla said. He had seen the extent of Qudrat-ullah's power and influence in Azim-ush-shan's time, and he feared that this might be renewed in the case of the son. His own position would thus be destroyed. Taking hurried leave of the Emperor, he came to the door of the privy audience-hall, where the Shaikh was seated, and gave him a most effusive greeting. He added that, just at that moment, His Majesty being deep in some very important business, a full audience, as such a friend was entitled to, would be impossible; it would be far better for the Shaikh to accept for that night the hospitality of his old friend. Next day or the day after, a proper interview could be arranged. As Mr. Jumla at that time had the entire power of the realm in his own hands, the Shaikh thought these blandishments of good augury, and fell in with his proposal. Forgetting all about his companion, Mulla Shadman, he set off with Mir Jumla, who put him in one of his own *palkis* and carried him off to his house. That night and the next day Mir Jumla was profuse in his attentions.

At the end of the day Mir Jumla went to the Emperor. He said to him that it would be wrong to pardon the Shaikh. The gentleman was a necromancer and by his incantations and jugglery had inveigled Azim-ush-shan into his net. By his rise all the nobles had been put out of heart, hence when Zulfiqar Khan took the field, many would not bear a part, and the rest although pressed made no proper efforts. Qudrat-ullah gained the same acceptance here, he would cause mischief in every business. Since Farrukh-siyar looked on Mir Jumla as Wisdom and Prudence personified, he gave a nod of assent. Mir Jumla

* Mirza Muhammad 181-186, Kamwar Khan 142, *T-i-Mhdi*, year 1125 H.

left the *darbar* at the usual time ; and at midnight he gave orders to his men to hang the Shaikh, in his presence, to a *maulsari* tree growing in the courtyard of his mansion.* Next morning, the 13th Zul Qada 1125 H. (30th November 1713), the Shaikh's dead body was made over to his servants for burial. It is said that Mulla Shadman remonstrated with Farrukh-siyar, saying that the man had done nothing to deserve death. Even if such acts were proved, Qudrat-ullah and he having come to Court together, the Shaikh's death would bring disgrace on him and throw doubt on his character. Farrukh-siyar was ready to admit all this, but as the deed was done, he made some excuses and tried to talk the Mulla over. But the Mulla declined to remain longer at Court, and returned to his home.†

Shortly after this time, Farrukh-siyar having quarrelled with the Sayyids, was afraid that they might bring forward some other Prince of the house of Taimur to take his place. But a Prince once deprived of eyesight could not be raised to the throne. The Emperor resolved, therefore, to deprive of their eyesight the more prominent and more energetic of the many scions of the house of Taimur held in captivity in the palace. On the 6th Muharram 1126 H. (21st January, 1714), three of the Princes, Azz-ud-din, eldest son of Jahandar Shah, Wala Tabar, son of Azam Shah, and Farrukh-siyar's own younger brother, Humayun Bakht (then only ten or twelve years old), were removed from the palace to the prison at the Tirpoliya or Triple gate. It was the place where Jahandar Shah's life had been taken, and where in a few years' time Farrukh-siyar himself was to suffer the same fate. A needle was passed through the eyes of the three Princes, and they were thus rendered incapable of ever becoming rivals for the throne. Mir Jumla is credited with having

* *Maulsari*, a tree (Mimusops elengi), the flowers of which are highly fragrant. (Shakespeare's *Dictionary*).

† Kamwar Khan, 142, entry of 11th Zul Qada 1125 H. (2nd year) gives the facts with a slight variation. He says that Qudrat-ullah, a *darvesh*, son of Abdul-Jalil Allahabadi, having reached Court presented an offering of one musk bag (*bakhura*). An order issued that he should be put up in the house of Mir Jumla. On the 12th it was reported that Mir Jumla had hung the man.

been the man who urged Farrukh-siyar to carry out this harsh act. [Warid 150*b*, Kamwar 144, K. K. 740.]

Finally, on the 2nd Rabi II. 1126 H. (16th April, 1714), the Qalmaq woman, Shadman, entitled Rai Man, a servant in the palace, was made over to Sarbarah Khan, the *kotwal* or chief of the police, and her head was cut off at the *chabutra,** or central police-station. Her crime was that, during the reign of Jahandar Shah, one of her relatives had drawn his sword on Mir Jumla. Rai Man is the woman who gave the alarm when an attempt was made to assassinate Jahandar Shah ; she bravely attacked the assailants and slew one of them with her own hand. For this good service she had received the titles of Raza Bahadur Rustam-i-Hind, and the rank of 5,000 *zat*. [Kamwar 146, M. M. 187.]

Although not mentioned in the general histories, the humoristic poet, Sayyid Muhammad Jafar of Narnol, poetically Zatali, is said to have been one of the victims. His crime is said to have been a satirical parody of the distich on Farrukh-siyar's coinage. The details will be given when we come to speak of the coinage of the reign.†

SEC. 14.—FIRST QUARREL WITH THE SAYYIDS (APRIL 1713).

The story as told by Yahya Khan, Farrukh-siyar's Mir Munshi, is that at the enthronement Abdullah Khan demanded the post of *Wazir* for himself. Farrukh-siyar made the objection that he had given his word to Ghazi-ud-din Khan (*i.e.*, Ahmad Beg Ghalib Jang), a promise which he could not break. Abdullah

---

* *Chabutra* means a platform of earth or masonry raised slightly above the surface of the ground. This name was given to the office of the head police officer of Dihli; it was situated in the Chandni Chauk, the main street leading from the Lahor Gate of the city to the Lahor Gate of the citadel.

† *Malahat-i-maqal, fol. 74a.* Beale, p. 186, says Ezad Bakhsh Raza was also executed, but as he died in 1119 H. (Rieu, Index, p. 1157), this must be a mistake. The *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, a very accurate work, gives Ezad Bakhsh's death at Akbarabad under 1119 H., and says he was son of Aqa Mulla, son of Zain-ul-abidain, son of Asaf Khan, Jafar, the Sadiqi, the Qazwini, *alias* the Akbarabadi. An account of this Asaf Khan is in *Masir-ul-umara* i. 113.

Khan might retain all power under the name of *Wakil-i-mutlaq* or Vice-gerent. Abdullah Khan said there had been no *Wakil-i-mutlaq* since Jahangir's reign, except when Bahadur Shah gave that office to Asad Khan. But the two cases were not parallel; he had won the crown for Farrukh-siyar by his own sword and his own right hand, therefore his title to be *Wazir* was indisputable. Farrukh-siyar thought it best to give way, as he had only newly succeeded and was not yet secure on the throne. In this version of the facts, the only certain point is the supersession of Ghazi-ud-din Khan Ghalib Jang: but there is no sufficient reason to believe that Farrukh-siyar was, in any way, a reluctant participator in the new arrangement, although as soon as he had appointed Abdullah Khan, he appears to have repented of it. [Yahya, 122*a*.]

As we have seen, a few days after the victory at Agra, Qutb-ul-mulk was detached to seize Dihli; and, for the moment, the second brother, Husain Ali Khan, was incapacitated by severe wounds from taking any active part in affairs. The opportunity was too good to be lost. Farrukh-siyar was never long of the same mind and felt always under the influence of the last speaker. Mir Jumla, Khan Dauran, Taqarrub Khan, and other personal friends and favourites found thus a splendid opening for intrigue, of which they at once availed themselves. Between the departure of Qutb-ul-mulk for Dihli and Farrukh-siyar's own arrival at the capital barely a month elapsed; but this short interval was sufficient to implant in Farrukh-siyar's mind the seeds of suspicion, and he arrived at Dihli already estranged from the two Sayyids. We have told how the Court party interfered between the Sayyids and Zulfiqar Khan, beguiling the latter to his destruction. These intrigues had not remained altogether concealed from Husain Ali Khan, and in the most secret manner he communicated his suspicions to his brother. He wrote, we are told, that on his brother's leaving the camp it was clear, from the Prince's talk and the nature of his acts, that he was a man who paid no regard to claims for service performed, one void of faith, a breaker of his word, and altogether without shame. Thus it was necessary for them to act in their own interests without regard to the plans of the

new sovereign. If Husain Ali Khan really wrote these words at such an early stage of his acquaintance with Farrukh-siyar, it proves him to have possessed wonderful penetration and great insight into character. The remainder of our story yields abundant evidence of the fact that the character of Farrukh-siyar could hardly be delineated with greater accuracy than in the above words. Acting on his brother's hint, Abdullah Khan, as a precaution, assumed possession of the house lately occupied by Kokaltash Khan, Jahandar Shah's foster-brother, and with it all the cash and property contained therein.

For a couple of weeks after Farrukh-siyar's entry into Dihli, the appearance of amity was preserved. But the weapons of discord lay in abundance ready to hand. The disputes that now began raged round two things: The nominations to office, and the appropriation of the confiscated wealth of the Jahandar-Shahi nobles. A third lever for persuading Farrukh-siyar to get rid of the two Sayyids was found in his superstitious fears.

When Abdullah Khan reached Dilhi in advance of the Emperor, he took upon himself to promise the post of *diwan* of the *Khalsa,* or exchequer office, to Lutfullah Khan Sadiq, and that of *Sadar-us-sadur,* or Head of the Religious Endowments, to the former holder, Sayyid Amjad Khan.* On the march from Agra, Farrukh-siyar gave these offices to his own followers; Chabela Ram Nagar, receiving the *diwani* of the *Khalsa,*† and Afzal Khan, who had taught Farrukh-siyar to read the Quran, being made Sadar. Over these conflicting orders a quarrel broke out directly the Emperor reached Dihli. Abdullah Khan Qutb-ul-mulk, fell into a passion, and said that if his very first exercise of power was contested, what was the object of being Wazir? Mir Jumla and other favourites did their best to inflame the wound by remarking that when a sovereign deputed power to a minister, it was for the minister to recognize the limits of that power, and not make appointments to high office

* Amjad Khan's original name was Bu Ali; he was Bakhshi and *waqia-nigar* of Dihli at the time of Alamgir's death and was made Sadar by Bahadur Shah—Khush-hal Chand, 376*a*.

† Chabela Ram's appointment was made on the 17th Zul Hijja, Kamwar Khan, 127.

without sanction. A compromise was at last arrived at; Lutfullah Khan retained the *diwani* and Afzal Khan the *Sadarat* with the title of Sadar Jahan. Chabela Ram was consoled with the Government of Agra.*

Owing to the violent change of Government, there were naturally many confiscated mansions at the disposal of the crown. Two of these with their contents were conferred on Qutb-ul-mulk and his brother. One known as Jafar Khan's, which Kokaltash Khan, Khan Jahan, had held, was given to Qutb-ul-mulk; and another called Shaista Khan's, recently in the possession of Zulfiqar Khan, was made over to Husain Ali Khan. As soon as the distribution had been made, Farrukh-siyar's private circle of friends poured into his ear suggestions that these two mansions contained untold treasures, the accumulated wealth of many generations. In them was stored, they said, the property which had belonged to the four sons of Bahadur Shah, and the whole revenues of Hindustan for a year past. All this had now fallen into the possession of the two Sayyids. On the other hand, the imperial treasury had been emptied and the palace denuded of everything to pay Jahandar Shah's soldiers. [Kamwar 132, Warid 149*a*.]

Superstition was even more powerfully brought into play. It was a superstitious country and a superstitious age; and Farrukh-siyar was as much subject to these influences as any of his contemporaries. A prophecy had been made, which met with the widest acceptance, that after Bahadur Shah's death his youngest descendant would reign. He would, in his turn, be followed by a Sayyid. Talk about this became so common that soon everyone had heard it. Of course, it was at once urged on the Emperor that the Sayyid who was to reign could be no other than one of the two brothers. Acting on the principle that dropping water wears away a stone, they repeated this story over and over again to Farrukh-siyar, till it had the effect of making him openly show ill-feeling to the two Sayyid brothers. [Warid 149*a*.]

* Mhd. Qasim, 171. Afzal Khan died at Dihli in the end of Rabi II. or early in Jamadi I. 1138 H. (January 1726), Rank 5000—*T-i-Mhdi.*, Khafi Khan ii. 729, 731.

The quarrel had proceeded so far by the beginning of Rabi I. (27th March 1713), that Qutb-ul-mulk ceased to attend the daily audience, an infallible sign that a noble had a grievance or was out of humour. Farrukh-siyar was always ready to take any step, however humiliating, which might for the moment postpone decisive action and give him time to plan some fresh treachery. Accordingly, on the 9th Rabi I. (4th April 1713), on his way back from Wazirabad, a place on the banks of the Jamuna, where he had gone to hunt, he paid a visit to Qutb-ul-mulk's house and embraced him affectionately. He deigned to eat his breakfast and take his midday sleep there before returning to the palace. Qutb-ul-mulk, in return for so much condescension, made many costly gifts to His Majesty, receiving others in return. This is noted as the first public disclosure of the ill-feeling between the Emperor and his minister, which went on increasing year by year till it ended in catastrophe. [Kamwar 134, Warid 149*b*.]

SEC. 15.—CAMPAIGN AGAINST RAJAH AJIT SINGH RATHOR (NOV. 1713—JULY 1714).

As we have already explained, the Rajput States had been for fifty years in veiled revolt from the imperial authority. Bahadur Shah had been unable, owing to more pressing affairs, to reduce the Rajahs effectually. During the confusion which arose on that monarch's death, Ajit Singh, after forbidding cow-killing and the call for prayer from the Alamgiri mosque, besides ejecting the imperial officers from Jodhpur and destroying their houses, had entered the imperial territory and taken possession of Ajmer. Early in Farrukh-siyar's reign it was determined that this encroachment must be put an end to; and as the Rajah's replies to the imperial orders were not satisfactory, it was necessary to march against him.*

At first it was intended that the Emperor in person should

* Khafi Khan ii. 738. *Ahwal-ul-khawaqin*, 69*b*. According to Tod, ii. 82, the Rajah had been called on to send in his son, Abhai Singh, but had refused. Instead, he sent men to Dihli to assassinate one Mukand, his enemy. This outrage produced the invasion of Jodhpur. Probably this Mukand is the same as Mulkan of Mairtha on p. 75 of the same volume.

take the field, but he was dissuaded on the ground that his dignity would suffer if the rebel fled into the desert, where there was nothing but sand to feed upon. Nor does the Emperor appear to have been in particularly good health.* Husain Ali Khan was therefore appointed, Samsam-ud-daulah receiving charge of his seal as his deputy at Court. The plots against the Sayyids were still being carried on in Farrukh-siyar's entourage, and the plotters hoped that by separating the brothers the task of overthrowing them would be rendered easier. There were also the chances and dangers of a campaign to be counted on in their favour. On this occasion we hear for the first time of a plan which was adopted very frequently in this reign and afterwards. Official orders were given in one sense, and the opposing side received secret letters of a different purport, assuring them of future favour if they made a vigorous defence and defeated the imperial general sent against them. Letters were despatched to Rajah Ajit Singh urging him to make away with Husain Ali Khan in any way he could, whereupon the whole of the Bakhshi's property and treasure would become his ; and he would, in addition, receive other rewards.†

Husain Ali Khan's audience of leave-taking was granted on the 29th Zul Qada (16th December 1713), and his advance tents left Dihli on the 20th Zul Hijja 1125 H. (6th January 1714). The generals under him were Sarbuland Khan, Afrasyab Khan, Itiqad Khan (grandson of Shaista Khan, deceased), Dil-daler Khan, Saif-ud-din Ali Khan, Najm-ud-din Ali Khan, Asadullah Khan, Sayyid Shujaat-ullah Khan, Sayyid Husain Khan, Sayyid Khan, Aziz Khan Rohela, Chaghta Bahadur, Shakir Khan, Ghulam Ali Khan, Rajah Udwant Singh Bundela, Raja Gopal Singh Bhadauriya, Rajah Raj Bahadur of Rup-nagar and others. From the imperial magazines there were

---

* Farrukh-siyar was ill from the 1st Zul Hijja 1125 H. (18th December 1713), but was better on the 9th (26th December), and to stop rumours, he appeared at the Jama Masjid on the *Id i.e.*, the 10th. His bathing after recovery took place on the 22nd (8th January 1714).—Kamwar Khan, 143.

† Kamwar Khan, 142, entry of 13th Zul Qada 1125 H. (2nd December, 1713) *Ahwal-ul-khawaqin* 70*a*, Shiu Das p. 36.

delivered to him 500 *mans* of powder and lead, 200 rockets, 100 *mahtab*, and five cannon. Although a letter had been received from the Rajah on the 15th Zul Hijja 1125 H. (1st January 1714), the contents not being of a satisfactory nature, the preparations were not suspended and the advance began. Then Raghunath, a *munshi* in the service of Ajit Singh, came to Sarai Sahal, escorted by one thousand horsemen, with a view to negotiation.* Husain Ali Khan was then at Sarai Allahwirdi Khan. He rejected the terms offered and sent on his tents from Sarai Sahal. [Kamwar 142, B. M. 1690, *f.* 166*a*.]

On the march thieves gave much trouble. The general caused a ditch to be dug round the camp each time a halt was made, and Mewati watchmen were placed outside it on guard. Once two Mina thieves were caught, and next morning were blown from guns. This severity scared the marauders away. In pargana Riwari and the villages on the road there were splendid standing crops. At first these were destroyed by the camp-followers. But to prevent this plundering, petty officers were placed on duty ; next day several men were caught red-handed and brought in bound. They were paraded through the camp, seated on donkeys with their faces to the tail and arrows in their ears and noses. By this means the injury to the crops was put an end to. [Kamraj, 55*a*.]

The Rathor army was reported to be twelve *kos* south of Sambhar ; rumour said they were hiding in ambush and intended to molest the imperialists while on the march. Not a trace of them, however, was seen between the capital and Ajmer ; and as the imperial army passed through pargana Sambhar it destroyed Sanamgarh, a place of worship which had been erected at great cost. The march was conducted under great difficulties, the army suffering much in those sandy deserts from the want of water, in spite of the fact that they carried a provision of it along with them. On reaching Ajmer the camp was pitched for some days on the banks of the lake Anasagar, whence messengers were sent to the Rajah, on the principle that "Peace is better than War." After a time the

* The *Tuhfat-ul-Hind* of Lal Ram, B. M. Nos. 6583, 6584, *folio* 88*b*, gives the date 14th Muharram (1126)=29th January, 1714.

Sayyid moved on to Puhkar, five miles north-west of Ajmer and thence to Mairtha, about forty miles further on, in Jodhpur territory ; but Ajit Singh still fled before him further into the sandy desert. An armed post (*thana*) of two thousand men was placed in the town of Mairtha. [Kamraj 55*a*, Qasim 197, *Ahwal-ul-khawaqin*, 71.]

In the country round Ajmer and between that place and Mairtha, the villages of Rajah Ajit Singh and those of Jai Singh of Amber are intermingled. The inhabitants of the Jodhpur villages were afraid and took to flight. Thereupon orders were issued to plunder and burn down all villages found uninhabited, but to leave all others unmolested. When this became known, the Jodhpur villages interceded through their Jaipur neighbours ; their plundered goods were then restored, the only loss being of the houses that had been burned. The country was thus settled and brought under imperial rule, step by step, as the army moved forward. Abdus-samad Khan, who had been recalled from the Panjab, joined at Puhkar, but at the very first interview he and the Sayyid disagreed. [*M. U.* i. 321, *Ahwal* 71*b*.]

On the way to Mairtha, Husain Ali Khan called a council of war, and proposed that in spite of the approach of the hot weather, stores of water should be collected and the advance continued. Ajit Singh, he asserted, must either be taken and his head sent to Court, or his son surrendered as a hostage and his daughter offered as a bride to the Emperor. Others advised delay, and much apprehension prevailed. The difficulties were many, the great heat of the sun, the deficiency of water, the high prices, the want of grain and grass for the cattle. In spite of all these, Husain Ali Khan resolved to leave most of his baggage behind and make a forced march on Jodhpur.*

The conclusion of the campaign was soon announced at Court by a report received on the 14th Rabi I. 1126 H. (29th March 1714). It appeared that Ajit Singh had retreated in one night from his position south of Sambhar and had fallen back

* Kamraj 55*b*, *Ahwal-ul-khawaqin* 72*a*.

on Mairtha, and without making any stand there had gone on to Jodhpur, where he had hoped to be safe, surrounded by the desert. Finding that the Sayyid was still pressing onwards and seemed determined to strike a blow at him in spite of the inaccessibility of his capital, he sent his women and children into places of safety in the hill country, and himself sought refuge in the deserts of Bikaner.* Evidently he felt himself too weak to meet the imperialists in the open field, and during the time that Sayyid Miyan, the Bakhshi's father, was governor of Ajmer, the Rajputs had learned respect for Husain Ali Khan's qualities as a general. When Husain Ali Khan was within 30 miles of Mairtha, an embassy arrived from the Rajah, escorted by fifteen hundred horsemen.† It was believed that their arrival was a mere subterfuge, devised in order to gain time for the Rajah to escape. In order to make sure of them, Husain Ali Khan told them that if they were in earnest, they must agree to be put in fetters. After objecting to this proposal, as involving infamy and disgrace, they consented. Four of the principal men were put in chains. Directly they made their appearance from the audience tent in this condition, the loose characters of the imperial camp assumed that the envoys' overtures had been rejected. A body of them rushed at once to the Rajput tents, attacked their guards, and plundered all their property. There was great difficulty in suppressing this disorder. The envoys were sent for, their chains removed, and full apologies made. The envoys themselves were satisfied and continued the negotiation, but news of the outbreak having

* Tod, ii. 82, says Ajit Singh sent off the men of wealth to Sewanah and his son and family to the desert of Razdarroh, west of the Loni river. This Razdarroh may be the Raus or Rass of Thornton, 820, a town on the n. w. declivity of the Aravalli range, 38 m. w. of Nasirabad, Lat. 26° 17′. Long. 74° 16′. Sewana is 27 m. s. w. by s. of Jodhpur, 42 m. n. of Disa, Lat. 24° 50′, Long. 72°.

† Khush-hal Chand, 401*b*, says that Ajit Singh asked Jai Singh of Amber for advice, and was recommended to make terms. Is this at all likely? According to Tod, ii. 82, the terms were asked for by the advice of Ajit Singh's *diwans*, and still more of Kesar, the bard, who adduced a precedent of the time when Daulat Khan Lodi had invaded Marwar.

reached the Rajah, he fled. Husain Ali Khan was thus forced to advance to Mairtha, where he halted until the terms of peace had been arranged.*

The terms were that the Rajah should give one of his daughters in marriage to the Emperor, in the mode which they styled *Dola,*† that the Rajah's son, Abhai Singh, should accompany Husain Ali Khan to Court, and that the Rajah in person should attend when summoned.‡ Zafar Khan (Roshan-ud-daulah) arrived at Court on the 5th Jamadi I. 1126 H. (18th May, 1714), with the news. Husain Ali Khan sent the greater part of his army back to Dihli, and remained for two months in Ajmer, restoring the country to order. On the 26th Jamadi II, 1126 H. (8th June, 1714), it had been reported that he was at Puhkar, west of Ajmer, on his way back from Mairtha. On the return march, owing to the great heat, they moved at night and halted in the day. On the 2nd Rajab (13th July, 1714), he arrived at Sarai Allahwirdi Khan. On the 5th he was presented to the Emperor, being received with great outward cordiality, and the commanders who had served under him were richly rewarded. Zafar Khan was honoured with the special title of *Fidwi-i-farmanbardar,* "the loyal and order-obeying servant." Kunwar Abhai Singh's audience took place three days afterwards (19th July, 1714), with all fitting ceremony.§

SEC. 16.—RENEWAL OF OPEN QUARREL WITH THE SAYYIDS.

During Husain Ali Khan's absence, Mir Jumla's power had gone on increasing. Farrukh-siyar had made over his seal to

* Kamwar Khan 195, Khafi Khan ii. 738, *M. U.* i. 321, Muhammad Qasim 190.

† *Dola,* a Hindi word for an informal marriage. *Tawarikh-i-Marwar* of Murari Das, vol. 2, *fol.* 80*b*, states that the girl's Hindu name was Bai Indar Kunwar.

‡ Tod ii. 82, Abhai Singh was recalled from Razdarroh and marched to Dihli with Husain Ali Khan at the end of Asarh 1770. The last day of that month equals 28th June, 1713, or if the southern reckoning be followed, it then falls in 1714 (17th June, 1714).

§ Tod ii. 82, says Abhai Singh was made a *Panj Hazari* (5,000): Kamwar Khan 146, Warid *fol.* 150*b*, Kamraj 56*a*.

this favourite, and was often heard to say openly: "the word and seal of Mir Jumla are the word and seal of Farrukh-siyar." On his side, Qutb-ul-mulk was immersed in pleasure and found little or no leisure to devote to State affairs. Nor, being a soldier who had come into office without much preparation for civil affairs, was he very competent to deal with the details of administration, for which, moreover, he had no natural taste. Everything was left to his man of business, Ratan Chand, a Hindu of the Baniya caste, and a native of a village near the Sayyids' home at Jansath.* He had been recently created a Rajah with the rank of 2,000 *zat*. The chief dispute centred upon the question of appointments to office, the fees paid by those receiving appointments being a recognized and most substantial source of emolument. Ratan Chand, in addition to these customary fees, exacted large sums, which were practically bribes or payments for the grant of the appointment. By Mir Jumla's independent action in bringing forward candidates and affixing the seal to their warrants of appointment, without following the usual routine of passing them through the Wazir's office, the emoluments of both the chief minister and of his head officer were considerably curtailed. It is a matter of little wonder, therefore, that Qutb-ul-mulk felt aggrieved at the unusual powers placed in the hands of a rival such as Mir Jumla. This noble was much more accessible than the Wazir, and was not given to the extortionate practices of Ratan Chand. Naturally, men in search of employment or promotion sought his audience-hall rather than that of Qutb-ul-mulk. The Wazir suffered, in this way, both in influence and in income. Moreover, Mir Jumla allowed no

* My old acquaintance, Rai Bahadur Nihal Chand Agarwal, an Honorary Magistrate of Muzaffarnagar, in a letter of the 1st Dec., 1893, informs me that Ratan Chand was a native of Jansath town, where he had built a handsome house, now in a ruined state, but still in the hands of his impoverished descendants. He belonged to a sub-caste of the Agarwals called *Rajah-ki-baradari* (*i.e.*, the Rajah's relations), the reference being to Rajah Agar Sen, the reputed founder of the caste, their ancestor having been that Rajah's son by a concubine. The epithet of *baqqal* (shop-keeper) attached to Ratan Chand's name, is the Persian version of the vernacular caste name *baniya* or *mahajan* (trader).

opportunity to pass without depreciating the Sayyid brothers, and brought forward arguments of every sort to prove that they were unfitted for the offices that they held. [K. K. 739, Khush-hal 399*a*.]

The quarrel which had broken out in the first weeks of the reign was patched up in the manner already recounted. But no thorough reconciliation had been effected ; nor, considering the character of Farrukh-siyar, was any such reconciliation to be expected. The Sayyid brothers could never be certain from day to day that some new plot was not being hatched for their destruction. The Rajputana campaign was the means of unmasking one of these schemes. Secret letters had been, as we have already mentioned, despatched to Rajah Ajit Singh, urging him to strenuous resistance, and inviting him, if he could, to make away with Husain Ali Khan. These letters came into Husain Ali Khan's possession and through them he acquired proof of Farrukh-siyar's double-faced dealings. There are two stories of the manner in which this happened. One, told by Warid, is that when Rajah Ajit Singh was hard-pressed and saw no other way out of the danger, he sent in the original letters for the perusal of the Sayyid. Husain Ali Khan at once entered into negotiations for a peace, in order that he might return to Court without delay to defend his own and his brother's interests. The other version is, that the Rajah made the letters over to his daughter when she started for Court, and that either on the journey or after her arrival at Dihli, when staying in the mansion of the Sayyid, the documents were in some way got at and their contents ascertained. In the interval of Husain Ali Khan's absence, Qutb-ul-mulk had found the greatest difficulty in maintaining his position at Court. All the power was in the hands of Mir Jumla. Every day messages came from Farrukh-siyar, couched in various forms, but all urging him to resign the office of Wazir. Qutb-ul-mulk now wrote letters to his brother enjoining him to return to Dihli with all possible speed. In response to these calls, Husain Ali Khan, as we have seen, reached the capital again on the 5th Rajab 1126 H. (16th July, 1714).*

* Warid *fol.* 150*a*, 150*b*: *Siyar* text, 23.

For the next two or three months the breach between the Emperor and the minister, although far from closed, was not sensibly widened. The Sayyids, as was natural, looked on Farrukh-siyar's accession to the throne as the work of their hands, and resented the grant of any share of power to other persons. On the other hand, the small group of Farrukh-siyar's intimates, men who had known him from his childhood and stood on the most familiar terms with him, were aggrieved at their exclusion from a share in the spoil. They felt that they themselves were not strong enough to attack the Sayyids openly ; and recourse to other nobles of wealth or experience would do no more than substitute one set of masters for another. Their plan, therefore, was to work upon the weak-minded Farrukh-siyar. "The Sayyids," they said to him, "look upon you as their creation, and think nothing of you or your power. They hold the two chief civil and military offices, their relations and friends have the principal other offices, and the most profitable land assignments (*jagirs*). Their power will go on increasing, until, should they enter on treasonable projects, there will be no one able to resist them. It would be better to reduce their strength in time. For this purpose, two nobles of position should be brought to the front and placed on an equality with them." If the Sayyids gave way, all would be well ; the object sought would have been accomplished. But should they, with the rashness (*jahalat*) for which the Barha Sayyids were famous, resist the undermining of their power, then the two nobles could oppose force to force. But open fighting should be resorted to only in the last extremity. The two brothers should be caught when unattended and made prisoners, as had been done with Zulfiqar Khan, and if necessary, despatched as he had been. [M. M. 189.]

Farrukh-siyar, a man of no wisdom, accepted this advice as the perfection of right reasoning, the acme of loyalty to his person. The two men selected to confront the Sayyids were Khan Dauran and Mir Jumla. They were both promoted to the rank of 7,000 horse: they were placed, the former at the head of 5,000 *Wala-shahi*, and the latter of 5,000 Mughal troopers. Many of their relations were pushed forward into

high rank, and counting these men's troops, each of the two nobles had at his command over ten thousand men. Among the signs of this favouritism was the order passed on the 12th Shaban (2nd Sept., 1713), permitting Mir Jumla to entertain 6,000 horsemen, who were to be specially paid from the imperial treasury. These were raised by Amanat Khan, his adopted son, from Mughals born in India, and some seventy lakhs of Rupees for their pay were disbursed from the treasury, the rules as to descriptive rolls of the men and branding of the horses being set aside. No order was issued by Farrukh-siyar without the advice and approval of the above two men. In this exercise of authority Mir Jumla assumed the lead, till at length Qutb-ul-mulk was only the nominal, while he was the real Wazir. The two Sayyids bowed for the time to the Emperor's will, and made no opposition to these usurpations. At length, through the indiscretion of some palace servants, the Sayyids learnt of the plots against their life.* They ceased to appear in darbar and shut themselves up in their houses, taking every possible precaution against a surprise. The Emperor's desire to ruin them became a matter of public rumour, although, when appealed to, the nobles and confidants of the Emperor strenuously denied its truth. [M. M. 190, Kamwar 139.]

At length, in Zul Qada 1126 H. (7th Nov.-6th Dec. 1714), a son having been born to Husain Ali Khan, he resolved, as the custom was, to present a gift to His Majesty and ask him to name the child. At this time Farrukh-siyar was out on a hunting expedition and his camp was in a grove not far from

* Or as some say, they were informed by a message from Farrukh-siyar's mother, who considered herself bound by the promises made to the Sayyids at Patna. (Khafi Khan ii. 740). One authority (*Ahwal-ul-khawaqin*, 77*b*) makes Lutfullah Khan Sadiq the informant. He is described as "unrivalled in deceit, professing devotion to the sovereign, and yet as thick as could be with the Sayyids." He sent word to the latter privately that he had been present one night in Farrukh-siyar's audience-chamber, when, at the instigation of Mir Jumla and Khan Dauran, the Emperor had spoken harshly of them. There was no time for writing at length; one word was as good as a volume. Let them refrain from attending Court; or if they did attend, let them be very cautious.

the city.* When the Nawab reached the privy audience-hall, finding the Emperor still in the chapel tent, he took a seat. While he was waiting, a number of his friends confided to him the secret that on that day it was intended to lay violent hands upon him. A number of men were hid in ambush. The Nawab felt his last hour had come and prepared to meet his fate. When his arrival was reported to Farrukh-siyar, an order was sent out for him to come to the oratory. The Nawab betrayed no fear, but walked towards the tent. When the door-keeper, following the rules of the palace, requested him to lay aside his arms, he became inwardly apprehensive and said: "Very well, as it is not convenient to receive me just now, I will make my bow another time." Report of this hesitation was taken to Farrukh-siyar, who came out, staff in hand, and stood outside the chapel tent, and received the Nawab's obeisance there, and replying with some silly, unmeaning compliments, dismissed him to his home. But the countenance of Farrukh-siyar betrayed the real anger and vexation under which he was labouring from the non-success of his plans to seize the Nawab. [M. M. 191, Warid 150*b*.]

When he reached his house, Husain Ali Khan wrote to the Emperor to the following effect. It was quite clear that distrust of his brother and himself had found entrance into the Emperor's mind, and he was resolved on their overthrow. In that case, what could they do but submit to orders? But honour was a thing dearer than life; they might fall, but in so doing, they would take care not to sacrifice their honour. Let them be removed from rank and office, with leave to return to their homes and there offer their prayers for His Majesty's welfare. On reading the letter Farrukh-siyar took fright and returned to the city at once, in the hope of procuring some reconciliation. It so happened that soon after he reached the palace, a letter arrived from Qutb-ul-mulk to the same effect. Farrukh-siyar's equanimity was still further upset. From this time, the two Sayyids gave up attendance at darbar, and persisted in demanding the acceptance of their resignation of rank and office. Meanwhile they fortified their houses, and after Farrukh-siyar's return to the palace, negotiations went on for nine days. Among

the messages they sent was one asking for a grant of several lakhs of *dams*, payable from the country round their home, to which they would retire ; or they offered to recover Balkh and Badakhshan, which might be given them in *jagir* if they were successful. On the other hand, if they failed they would have earned a name which would survive until the Day of Judgment. If this request, too, was refused, let the plotters against them appear and fight them on the sands of the Jamuna below the palace windows *(jharoka)*, the Emperor becoming spectator and umpire. Power would belong to the survivors. To all these importunities the Emperor's answer was that no plot against them was in existence. [Kamraj 53*b*, M. M. 193.]

The conspirators told the Emperor that as the Sayyids were strongly supported by a large army and a numerous following of relations and adherents, their only object in offering to resign was to secure an unopposed withdrawal from the city, where they saw that it was impossible to carry out a successful revolt. Once in their home country, they would be certain to break out into rebellion. From this stage, the quarrel having become public, concealment was no longer possible and the principal nobles were called into consultation by Farrukh-siyar. Finally it was resolved not to interfere openly with the Sayyids, but to appoint a new Wazir, in the hope that their adherents would fall away from them. Most of these had resorted to them with the object of obtaining assignments on the land revenue. Deserted, as they probably would be, by these men, their party would be weakened and their consequence would gradually diminish.

It is said that the leader in giving this advice was Muhammad Amin Khan, Itimad-ud-daulah. His idea was that, since in length of service, nobility of family, fertility of resource, and ability as a soldier, there was in his opinion no one his equal or rival, the Emperor's choice must fall upon him. And it is quite likely that, if he had been supported and given authority to act, he could have carried the affair to a successful termination. But the Emperor's advisers foresaw that if the present danger were overcome through his aid, and their first enemies removed out of their way, to get rid afterwards of the

victor would be a still more arduous enterprize than the one at present before them. They preferred that Mir Jumla should receive the robes of *diwan* and assume the office of chief minister. Now, as a contemporary writer remarks, Mir Jumla and Khan Dauran, "were only carpet knights *(sher-i-qalin)* and not true fighters (*mard-i-maidan*). They talked well, but evaded dealing with the kernel *(maghz)* of the matter." Mir Jumla, having no real strength of character, knew that he was not fitted to enter the lists as a champion to fight the Sayyids. He therefore made excuses and drew to one side. Who, then, was "to bell the cat"? There remained Khan Dauran. He was in reality a mere braggadocio, a big talker of the kind supposed to be the peculiar product of Hindustan ; and he was frightened lest he should ever be called on to take the lead, and lose his life in the attempt to destroy the Sayyids. Therefore he went secretly to Farrukh-siyar and suggested as the best course that Muhammad Amin Khan should be propitiated in every way, and the control of the affair confided to him. When it had been concluded and the Sayyids destroyed, he could be removed from office before he had time to consolidate his power. Overtures ought to be made to him. [M. M. 194, *Ahwal* 77*b*.]

Muhammad Amin Khan, who had learnt the inmost secrets of the plot, and was also disheartened by the shifting moods of Farrukh-siyar, was far from ready to accept the office. He said that he had no wish to be Wazir ; he was a plain soldier unaccustomed to such duties. If fighting men were wanted and the Emperor would head the troops in person, he would perform the obligations of a loyal servant and give his life for his master. But in the absence of His Majesty, his own troops and those of his relations were unequal to an attack on the Sayyids. The imperial and *Wala-shahi* troops had been warned for service under him; but he had no proof of their fighting quality. How could he feel any confidence in them? Besides, they were all of them near death's door from poverty and hunger, having neither good horses nor effective arms. In the *Wala-shahi* corps they had enlisted many townsmen, who neither respected others nor were themselves respected. Indeed, many low-caste men and mere artisans held commands. He

could not rely on such troops. Finding this lack of zeal among his partisans, Farrukh-siyar began to lose heart. The men of the *haft chauki*, or personal guard, were ordered into the palace ; and the unity and firm resolve of the Sayyids having been fully ascertained, it was decided to resume friendly relations with them.

While all these schemes were in progress, the Sayyids stopped at home and were never seen at *darbar*. Crowds of their dependents and flatterers continued to attend their audiences. But soon it became known that the Emperor had made up his mind to destroy them, and had transferred the office of Wazir to another. By slow degrees the daily crowd of suppliants grew less and less. Nay, some of the very Barha Sayyids absented themselves, and the two brothers and their adherents fell into great perplexity. If things had gone on like this for three or four days longer, they would have been much reduced in strength : in another week or ten days, the Emperor's end would have been gained. But it was not long before the truth leaked out, as to the differences among his advisers, the want of heart in his troops, and the state of alarm into which he had himself fallen. Once more the Sayyids' mart resumed its former briskness, and the throng at their doors became greater than before.

The Emperor ordered Islam Khan Mashhadi, formerly head of the artillery, to point some cannon at Husain Ali Khan's mansion, and kill him if possible. This order was not obeyed ; and on Mir Jumla's complaint, Islam Khan was sent for. That officer excused himself on the plea of the risk to innocent neighbours, and asked what fault the Sayyid had committed. Farrukh-siyar began to complain of them. Islam Khan then offered his services as intermediary. Having visited them and expressed to them the Emperor's grievances, Husain Ali Khan began with a denial of having thwarted the Emperor in the least. He continued : "The words of the truthful, though somewhat bitter, yield pleasant fruit. As Sadi of Shiraz says :

'Each good deed has its reward, each fault its penalty.'

"If they were in fault, let the Emperor himself say so ; why should a multitude suffer for the crimes of two men ;

their heads were there, ready for His Majesty's sword. By God Most High! since they were real Sayyids, no word of reproach would escape their lips :—

We turn not our heads from the sword of the enemy,
Whatever falls on our head is our Destiny."

This talk frightened Islam Khan so much that he soon asked for leave to go. He hurried back to Farrukh-siyar, and worked on the Emperor's mind till his views were changed. Islam Khan then suggested: "Why not send for them?" and he offered to bring them. Farrukh-siyar said: "Good, I also wish it." Islam Khan reported to the Sayyids that the Emperor had turned round and would like to see them. Husain Ali Khan met this by the objection that though they were loyal, they could not go to Court while Mir Jumla was there ; but they were willing to go on active service. Why should they remain at Court when there was no real but only apparent friendship. "Service and submission are from the heart, not from the tongue." [*Ahwal* 88*a*-91*b*.]

Farrukh-siyar, who was much cast down at the refusal of his friends to act, followed up this negotiation with further attempts to conciliate the Sayyids and offers of doing their will, swearing many oaths that he would never attempt to injure them again. Khwaja Jafar, the holy man, an elder brother of Khan Dauran, Sayyid Husain Khan Barha, Sayyid Shujaat Khan and others, went to and fro repeatedly. At these interviews the Sayyids expatiated, as usual, on their good services and the devotion they had shown, diversified by loud complaints of the Emperor's ingratitude. At length they said that they were convinced that the flames of ill-will had been set alight by the efforts of Mir Jumla and Khan Dauran. So long as those two gentlemen were left at Court they did not feel justified in presenting themselves there, for they would still be afraid of renewed attack. But Khwaja Jafar succeeded in overcoming their objection to Khan Dauran. He entered into a solemn covenant on his brother's behalf, that he would never again act towards the Sayyids contrary to the rules of true friendship. Should the Emperor entertain any such project, he would hinder its execution to the best of his ability.

If unsuccessful, he would at once warn the Sayyids. On these terms Khan Dauran was forgiven. Mir Jumla was thus left to meet the brunt of their displeasure, and they insisted on his dismissal from Court. [M. M. 198.] It was about this time that two of the Sayyids' uncles, Sayyid Khan Jahan and Asad-ullah Khan, counselled them to retire from Court. Qutb-ul-mulk objected that they were unfit for a saintly, recluse life. Khan Jahan explained that he did not counsel retirement from the world, but retirement from Court. "Say to the Emperor that you do not wish to remain at Court, that soldiers such as you are cannot manage the duties of a *Wazir* or a *Bakhshi*; let him send one of you to Bengal, the other to the Dakhin." The brothers thought the proposal a good one, but feared that it would be misrepresented by their enemies. Sayyid Khan Jahan asked, "How so?" They replied that they would be accused of meditating independence. Then another idea was brought forward. Why should they not, in order to obtain the removal of Mir Jumla, propose that one of the two brothers leave Court at the same time as Mir Jumla. All present approved, and a request to this effect was sent to the Emperor through Itibar Khan, a eunuch. Strangely enough Farrukh-siyar had conceived a similar plan, and therefore the offer was at once accepted. [*Ahwal* 93*b*.]

As Farrukh-siyar was by this time in a great fright and held it of the first importance to come to some settlement, he now consented gladly to all their demands. On the 22nd Zul Qada 1126 H. (28th November, 1714), the Emperor's mother visited the house of Qutb-ul-mulk and on her son's behalf renewed his promises, binding herself by oaths in the most solemn form. On the next day Qutb-ul-mulk with all his retinue repaired to the palace. Mir Jumla and Khan Dauran advanced as far as the door of the public audience-hall to receive him. The Nawab reproached them to their faces in the severest language. But the two cowards swallowed the bitter draught as if it had been composed of sugar and honey. Not a word of answer issued from their lips. The Emperor was seated at the window in the Hall of Justice, when Qutb-ul-mulk came in, followed by forty to fifty of his most trusty

veterans. His Majesty embraced him affectionately and entered into many excuses for his own doings, the tears standing in his eyes the while. Qutb-ul-mulk also wept, and recounted at length his own and his brother's many acts of loyalty and self-sacrifice, ending with asseverations of their unalterable devotion. Then, in accordance with the demands of the Sayyids, it was agreed that Mir Jumla should be despatched to *subah* Bihar; while Lutfullah Khan Sadiq, who furnished all the brains that Mir Jumla had, and was believed by the brothers to be at the root of all the mischief, was deprived of his rank. His mansion and gardens were confiscated, but on the request of Qutb-ul-mulk, the rest of his property was left to him.* On the 5th Zul Hijja 1126 H. (11th December, 1714), Mir Jumla was conducted to Lahor in the charge of two mace-bearers.*

On the day appointed for their attendance, just before the Sayyids were received in audience, Lutfullah Khan Sadiq, with effusive signs of joy, had met them in the middle of the great court in front of the public audience chamber, and begun to sound their praises like a hired flatterer. "During their absence the Court, even at noon-tide, had been plunged in the darkness of a long winter night, it seemed as if with them the sun and moon had disappeared" and more in the same strain. Qutb-ul-mulk retorted roughly: "What is the use of all this fulsome talk; if you meant it in your heart, why did you not show it in acts and try to heal the breach?" Lutfullah Khan then informed them that he had noticed a change in the Emperor's purpose, and believed that mischief was intended, for this reason only had he now troubled them. Having planted the seeds of distrust in their hearts, he hurried back to the Emperor and said that from what he had seen, he expected the Sayyids would use force. Farrukh-siyar broke out into anger: "The better I treat these men, the worse they oppose me." Additional guards were posted at the doors. After the usual ceremonies, Qutb-ul-mulk stepped forward and protested their loyalty, and prayed that tale-bearers

* Mirza Muhammad 199; Kamwar Khan, 151, has 23rd—Warid, 151*a*.

might no longer be listened to. For instance, a person trusted by His Majesty had just met them in the open court of the audience-hall, and professing to be their friend, had told them that His Majesty meant to treat them harshly. If His Majesty thought them worthy of punishment, let him execute them with his own hand; and they would be happy to become a sacrifice. Farrukh-siyar retorted that a man had just told him the Sayyids intended to use force. The Sayyids rejoined that till one of these men was punished, things would never resume their proper course. The Emperor demanded the same. Explanations followed; this double treachery was brought home to the culprit, and the incident was the principal cause of Lutfullah Khan's sudden disgrace. [*Ahwal* 72*a*.]

As Nawab Husain Ali Khan would not come to Court until Mir Jumla had left, the latter received his audience of dismissal on the *Id-uz-zuha* (16th December, 1714). Four days afterwards (20th December, 1714), Husain Ali Khan entered the palace with his men, observing the same precautions as in the case of Qutb-ul-mulk. The Emperor and the Mir Bakhshi exchanged compliments, under which their real sentiments were easily perceived. Some months before this time (12th Ramzan, 1126 H.—20th September, 1714) Husain Ali Khan had obtained in his own favour a grant of the Dakhin *subahs*, in supersession of Nizam-ul-mulk. He had then no intention of proceeding there in person, but meant to exercise the government through a deputy, Daud Khan, as had been done by Zulfiqar Khan, after fixing the amount of profit to be remitted to him every year. It was now proposed that he should leave Court and take over charge of the Dakhin himself. Owing to fears for his brother's safety and other reasons, he had been very reluctant to leave Dihli. At length, under pressure of circumstances, he consented to take his departure to the South, Khan Dauran Samsam-ud-daulah being appointed his deputy at Court. One writer [M. M. 202] ascribes this change of plan to Husain Ali Khan's disgust with recent events. It should rather be looked on as part of the agreement under which Mir Jumla was sent away. [K. K. 741.]

On the 17th Zul Hijja (3rd December, 1714), after his own

troops had taken charge of the palace gates, Husain Ali Khan's audience of leave-taking took place ; but his first march to Nizam-ud-din Auliya's tomb was postponed till the 29th Safar (5th March), and his actual departure was not reported till the 30th Rabi I. 1127 H. (4th April, 1715), when he set out by way of Ajmer. At this last audience he had made the significant remark that if in his absence, Mir Jumla were recalled, or his brother were subjected to annoyance, his return to Court might be looked for within twenty days from the occurrence of either event. He took with him power to appoint and remove all officials and exchange the commanders of all forts in the Dakhin. Nay, a common story is that, under compulsion, Farrukh-siyar made over to him the great seal, in order that the warrants of appointment to the forts should not require imperial confirmation. The settlement of these various matters had caused a delay of three or four months, which were spent by Husain Ali Khan at Barahpula.* Hardly was Husain Ali Khan's back turned before new schemes were contrived, and on the 29th Jamadi I. (3rd May, 1715), Daud Khan, then governor at Ahmadabad in Gujarat, was reappointed to Burhanpur, one of the *subahs* under charge of Husain Ali Khan. Daud Khan received secret instructions from the Court to resist the Mir Bakhshi to the best of his ability, and if possible to kill him. The reward promised him was succession to the six *subahs of* the Dakhin. When we come to relate events in the various provinces during this reign, we shall return to the subject. Suffice it to say here that, much to the chagrin of the Court party, Daud Khan was killed in battle near Burhanpur on the 8th Ramzan 1127 H. (6th September, 1715), and Husain Ali Khan was victorious. In the same way, Mir Jumla's doings at Patna will be told hereafter.†

SEC. 17.—FARRUKH-SIYAR'S MARRIAGE TO AJIT SINGH'S DAUGHTER (MAY-DECEMBER 1715).

Owing to his anxiety to return at once to Court, Husain Ali Khan had not been able to wait in Rajputana, until Rajah Ajit

* Mirza Muhammad, India Office Library MS. No. 50, *fol.* 128*b*, Khafi Khan, ii. 742.

† Kamwar Khan,—Report of battle received 10th Shawwal, 1127 H. (8th October, 1715).

Singh had finished the necessary preparations for the despatch of his daughter to Dihli. When the dispute with the Sayyids had been allayed and Husain Ali Khan had taken his departure to the Dakhin, Shaista Khan, the Emperor's maternal uncle, was sent on the 12th Jamadi I. 1127 H. (15th May, 1715) to bring the bride from her home at Jodhpur. He arrived with her at Dihli on the 25th Ramzan 1127 H. (23rd September, 1715), and tents were erected within the palace for her reception. She was then sent to the mansion of Amir-ul-umara, and the preparations for the wedding were made over to Qutb-ul-mulk. Four days afterwards the Emperor repaired to the mansion of Amir-ul-umara, and there on repetition of the creed, the lady was admitted into the Muhammadan faith. The same night the marriage rite was performed by Shariyat Khan, the chief Qazi, one lakh of gold coins being entered in the deed as her dower. The nobles presented their congratulations, and the Qazi received a present of Rs. 2,000. [M. M. 212 ; Kamwar 156, 158.]

The bridegroom's gifts* to the bride were provided on a regal scale by the Emperor's mother, and sent to the bride's quarters on the 15th Zul Hijja (11th December, 1715), accompanied by many nobles, who were entertained by Qutb-ul-mulk. On the 20th the ceremony of applying henna to the bridegroom's hands and feet was carried out, and the persons who brought it were entertained in the usual way.† On the 21st (17th December, 1715), the whole of the Diwan-i-am and the courtyard (*jilau khana*), both sides of the road within the palace, and the plain towards the Jamuna were illuminated by lamps placed on bamboo screens. About nine o'clock in the evening, Farrukh-siyar came out by the Dihli Gate of the palace, seated on a moveable throne and wearing, according to usage, the clothes sent to him by the bride's father, of which Khemsi Bhandari had been the bearer. The Emperor was preceded by

* These were called the *Sachaq*, a Turki word. Mirza Muhammad tried to get into the palace of Qutb-ul-mulk as a spectator, but the crowd was so great that he was forced to come away.

† Mirza Muhammad, I. O. Library No. 50, *fol.* 132*a*. For *Hinna bandan*, *Mahndi bandan*, see Herklot's *Qanoon-e-Islam*, p. 68.

platforms, on which stood women singing and dancing as they were carried along. Fireworks were let off. The Emperer entered the house of Amir-ul-umara and there completed the usual ceremonies. Those observed on this occasion were a mixture of Muhammadan and Hindu usages. One which caused much remark was the offer to the guest of a drink made of rose-water, sugar, and opium. This mixture was pressed on them by the Rajputs on the plea that it was the custom of their country. Many Muhammadans drank of it, but some objected. There was another thing never seen before in an imperial wedding. A gold plate had been made with five divisions, and each of these divisions was filled with precious stones. In one, diamonds ; in another, rubbies ; in the third, emeralds ; in the fourth, topazes ; and in the fifth, which was in the centre of them all, large and valuable pearls.* Farrukh-siyar returned late at night, bringing the bride with him to the palace, which he entered by the Lahor Gate, it being unlucky to go and come by the same route. The festivities continued to the end of the month.†

The consummation of the marriage had been delayed for a month or two by Farrukh-siyar's illness. When he returned to Dihli on the 19th Shaban (19th August, 1715), he was suffering from hæmorrhoids. It was on this occasion that the services of William Hamilton, the English surgeon, were called into requisition. He had accompanied an embassy sent to Dihli to complain of the conduct of Murshid Quli Khan, *nazim* of Bengal, in regard to the re-imposition of the custom duties which had been remitted by Alamgir.‡ By the 16th October (N. S.), the Emperor had been for some time under treatment by Mr. Hamilton. His ailments are said in the envoy's letters to have

* Yahya, 122*b*; Khush-hal Chand, 402*a*.

† *Taghaiyyar-i-rah dadan*, not to return by the way or gate by which you went, a practice observed by the Emperors of Hindustan (*Mirat-ul-istilah*). Mir Abdul-Jalil Bilgrami wrote a long *masnavi*, or narrative poem, in honour of the occasion. (Lithographed at Nawal Kishor Press, Lakhnau, 1299 H.) Mr. Beale praises it for the skill with which the Hindu names of the planets are introduced under the guise of Persian words. (*Miftah*, 301).

‡ J. T. Wheeler, *Early Records*, 169-184.

been first swellings in the groin and then a threatened fistula. This account agrees closely with the contemporary writer Kamwar Khan's statement. On the 3rd December, Farrukh-siyar bathed on his recovery, and on the 10th the surgeon was publicly presented with valuable gifts. As to this mission we shall give further details in a future section.

SEC. 18.—FIGHT BETWEEN THE RETAINERS OF MUHAMMAD AMIN KHAN AND OF KHAN DAURAN (APRIL 1st, 1716).

As an illustration of the disorder and want of discipline prevailing, even when the Emperor was present, among the large bodies of troops maintained by the chief nobles, we will here recount a fight which took place between the men of Muhammad Amin Khan and those of Khan Dauran. On the 6th Rabi II. 1128 H. (29th March, 1716), Farrukh-siyar started for one of his numerous hunting expeditions to Siuli, a preserve near Sonpat and about 20 miles north of Dihli. On the 26th (18th April, 1716), he returned to Agharabad, just north of the city, and pitched his camp near the garden of Shalimar. Three days afterwards (21st April, 1716), Mirza Muhammad rode out from the city in the morning, and after paying some visits, alighted at the tents of Sadullah Khan, where he ate his breakfast and took a sleep. Near the time of afternoon prayer (*zuhar*), at less than three hours to sunset, as he was preparing to go home, he heard the sound of cannon and musketry fire. The men of Muhammad Amin Khan and of Khan Dauran had begun to fight. The contest went on for over an hour, and as Mirza Muhammad was riding home, he met crowds of armed men, who were hurrying from the city to take a part in the affray, the majority being retainers of Muhammad Amin Khan, most of whose men had gone into the city, whereas Khan Dauran's were still with him. Opposite the Surkh-sangi or red-stone mosque, Qamr-ud-din Khan, son of Muhammad Amin Khan, was encountered, galloping at the head of some men to his father's aid. During the night word was brought into the city that by Farrukh-siyar's orders, Amin-ud-din Khan and others had parted the combatants and settled the dispute. The origin of the affair was this. Muhammad Amin Khan's retinue was

returning from the audience to their own tents at the time Khan Dauran's wife was on her road from the city. The two *cortéges* met, and in passing each other there was some confusion and hustling. As soon as Khan Dauran's men had escorted the Begam to her destination, they returned in a body and attacked Muhammad Amin Khan's baggage. The few guards resisted, and a bow and arrow and matchlock fight continued for about one and a half hours. One Namdar Khan and several soldiers lost their lives ; many of the bazar followers also being killed and wounded. The Emperor reduced both nobles 1,000 *zat* in rank, and the *faujdari* of Muradabad was taken from Muhammad Amin Khan and conferred on Amin-ud-din Khan. For two or three days neither noble would come to darbar. Then Farrukh-siyar wrote a note to Khan Dauran and sent Itimad Khan, a eunuch, to bring Muhammad Amin Khan. A reconciliation was effected between the two men ; and after their arrival in the city, they entertained each other in turn as a sign of renewed friendship. [Kamwar 163, M. M. 260, Khush-hal 404*a*.]

SEC. 19.—SIKH CAMPAIGN, CAPTURE AND EXECUTION OF BANDA (JULY 1713—JUNE 1716).

On the 26th Zul Hijja 1127 (22nd Dec. 1715), at the very time when the Emperor was celebrating the anniversary of his victory over Jahandar Shah, Muhammad Amin Khan presented a report from his brother-in-law, Abdus-samad Khan, governor of Lahor, with the joyful news that Banda, the false Guru and leader of the Sikhs, had been made a prisoner. We will now resume the story of the Sikhs from the point at which we quitted it, namely, the recall of Muhammad Amin Khan when Jahandar Shah started from Dihli in December 1712.

From that time, Zain-ud-din Ahmad Khan, the new faujdar of Sarhind,* who had gained a great reputation in Alamgir's reign, was left to continue to the best of his ability the campaign against the Sikhs. Close to the town of Sadhaura, Banda had

* Zain-ud-din Ahmad Khan's appointment was made on the 22nd Jamadi I. 1122, (18th July 1710), vice Wazir Khan killed—Kamwar Khan,71.

succeeded in raising a fort of considerable size, with high and thick walls. Here he maintained his position in spite of all the faujdar's efforts. As soon as Farrukh-siyar had taken possession of Dihli, affairs in Sarhind demanded his attention ; and on the 27th Muharram 1125 (22nd Feb, 1713) Abdus-samad Khan was appointed governor of Lahor, with his son, Zakariya Khan, as faujdar of Jammu. His orders were to expel Banda from Sadhaura, or, if possible to destroy him altogether. Other Mughal commanders were sent to reinforce the new governor and aid him in his task.*

Thus far the garrison of Sadhaura had made a very stout defence. They had so contrived that they could be ready to continue their fire, even while they were cooking or eating, and the men on duty were protected from both the heat and the rain. The cannon balls, even when they hit the fort, made no impression on the walls. When Zain-ud-din Ahmad Khan had brought his trenches within forty or fifty yards of the fort walls, he formed a battery, placed a large gun in position, and commenced to fire. Although the fire was ineffectual, the garrison, out of mere bravado and to show their valour, resolved to remove this cannon in such a way that no one should hear a sound or know how they had done it. Opposite the position of the cannon, they dug a long passage, leaving only a foot or two of earth at the outer end. The oxen and ropes used in dragging their carts were held in readiness. It was the rainy season. One night it had been raining heavily from an early hour in the evening, and of the besiegers not one cared to put his head outside of his tent. Owing to the sound of the pouring rain, it was impossible to hear anything else, and it was so dark that nothing could be seen. At midnight the Sikhs broke through the remaining wall of earth, and ranged yokes of oxen, one before the other, in the underground passage. Then some of them crossed the fort ditch, in which the water was rushing down with great force, and reached the besiegers' earthen battery where they tied their ropes firmly to the gun-carriage.

* Anon. Fragment, *fol.* 18*b*; Mhd. Ihsan Ijad, *fol.* 130*b*; Kamwar Khan, 133.

The oxen pulled and the gun with its carriage, once set in motion, began to roll down. On reaching the bottom, gun and carriage fell apart. The loud noise thereby caused roused the sentinels. They saw that the cannon had disappeared. Hearing the disturbance, Zain-ud-din Ahmad arrived on the spot, on foot and without any torch, through all the mud and mire, the water in places up to his waist, and a deluge of rain falling from above. If he ordered lanterns or torches to be lighted, he would become a target for the enemy's fire ; without light, he could find out nothing. With much difficulty it was ascertained that the gun and its carriage were lying upside down in the ditch, at the foot of the earthwork. The ropes that had been attached to them had broken off. After a little time, Zain-ud-din Ahmad Khan, collecting his senses, offered rewards of fifty Rupees each to one hundred camp-followers, if they would recover the cannon. Before morning broke, they had dragged it away to a position, where it was safe from the enemy.*

When Abdus-samad Khan arrived at Sadhaura, the siege was little if at all advanced. The Guru himself was in Lohgarh ; his followers held the fort at Sadhaura. It was thought advisable to force them first to evacuate Sadhaura and then crush their united forces at Lohgarh. Sadhaura was therefore invested. Abdus-samad Khan encamped on one side, Zain-ud-din Ahmad Khan on another, the third and fourth sides were guarded, one by the Mughals, the other by the local militia. Every other day, sometimes every day, Banda sent out from Lohgarh three or four divisions, who fell unexpectedly, at different times, on the imperial camps. As soon as these troops were seen dimly in the distance, or the dust they raised began to appear, the besieged came out on all four sides and fell vigorously upon the besiegers. These sorties met with no success, and supplies soon began to run short. The Sikhs had thought that no one could prevent their bringing in whatever they wanted, and they had not prepared any large stores of food. What they had collected was soon exhausted.

* Anon. Fragment, *fol.* 19*a*.

In spite of all their exertions, they were unable to bring in anything through the lines of the investing army. They now decided on flight, and finding a way out at night on the side guarded by the zamindari militia, they took their way to Lohgarh.*

Abdus-samad Khan and Zain-ud-din Ahmad Khan followed them at once to Lohgarh. Before a shot had been fired, or a sword drawn, a panic seems to have seized on Banda and his men ; they evacuated their fort and fled into the hills. While a camping ground was being selected by the imperialists, water sought for, and preparations in progress for beginning to dig a ditch and throw up earthworks, a purty of horsemen, in the most reckless fashion, rode off towards some high ground, from which they expected to obtain a better view of the Sikh position. As soon as they appeared on the high ground, the Sikhs streamed down the further side of the hill and disappeared. This panic and flight became the more inexplicable when the imperialists saw the elaborate preparations for resistance. From the first ridge up to the wall of Lohgarh itself, they had built fifty-two defensive posts, arranged in such a manner that each protected the other, thus exposing an assailant to a deadly fire throughout his advance. Some insisted that food supplies must have failed ; others argued that their ammunition must have given out. But the prisoners, when questioned, swore in the most solemn way that it was due to a sudden panic on seeing the horsemen appear at the top of the hill and, as they thought, about to charge them. If the advantage had been followed up at once, it is probable that Banda would have been defeated effectually, but pursuit was delayed for several days, and by that time, in spite of much searching through the hill country, not a trace of the Guru could be found. The capture of Sadhaura and the flight of Banda were reported at Dihli on the 20th Ramzan 1125 (9th Oct. 1713).†

On the 26th Zul Qada 1125 (13th Dec. 1713) Zakariya Khan, son of Abdus-samad Khan, brought to Court a report from his

* Anon. Fragment, *fol.* 19*b*.

† Anon. Fragment, *fol.* 19; Kamwar Khan, 140.

father, accompanied by a number of heads. A few months afterwards, Abdus-samad Khan came in person. Mir Jumla was sent out to escort him into the capital and he was presented on the 20th Safar 1126 (6th March 1714), receiving the usual gifts. Four days afterwards he was posted to the army then proceeding to Rajputana under Husain Ali Khan. On his return from this service, he was ordered back with his son to the Panjab, where the Sikhs had again raised their heads near Rupar on the Satlaj. The two nobles were sent off on the 14th Jamadi II. 1126 (26th June 1714). Not many months after Abdus-samad Khan's departure, a report was received, on the 16th Shaban 1126 (26th Aug. 1714) that a body of Sikhs, estimated at 7000 in number, had attacked the town of Rupar. Khwaja Mukaram, deputy of Zain-ud-din Ahmad Khan, the faujdar, made a good defence, although his force was small. He killed about two hundred of the enemy and cut off their heads. The rest of the Sikhs then retreated.*

About this time Khidmat Talab Khan replaced Zain-ud-din Ahmad Khan in Sarhind. He employed a large force to watch the issues from the hills. As the Sikhs had lost their strong places, with their stores of food, and the country itself had been devastated, it was impossible for them to subsist and they retired again into the hills. After a few months they reappeared in the plains from the direction of Jammu. The parganas of Kalanaur and Batala were plundered, in spite of the efforts of the faujdars, Suhrab Khan and Shaikh Muhammad Daim, and of Santokh Rai Qanungo. Mhd. Daim left his pargana and retired to his home in Kasba Bhairuwal, south-east of Amritsar. Rich and poor again forsook their homes, many went to Lahor, and many took refuge in the country of Jina and Dasoha.† At this time Abdus-samad Khan had marched southwards from Lahor to repress an outbreak of the Bhatti zamindars in the wild region known as the Lakhi jungle. He wished to carry out his repressive measures thoroughly, and therefore made no haste to return and deal with the Sikhs. In his absence Mir

---

* Kamwar Khan, 142, 145, 147, 149; Anon. Fragment *fol.* 21*b*.

† Mhd. Qasim, 175, 176. Bhairuwal is 31 m.s.e. of Amritsar (Thornton, 103). For Jina see *Ain*, translation, ii. 320, and for Dasoha, *idem*, ii. 110,316.

Ahmad Khan, faujdar of Gujarat, Iradatmand Khan, faujdar of Amanabad, Nur Muhammad Khan, ruler of Aurangabad and Parsarur, Shaikh Mhd. Daim and Suhrab Khan above mentioned, Sayyid Hifz Ali Khan of pargana Haibatpur Patti, Rajah Bhim Singh Kamboh, and Hardam son of Rajah Dharb Deo Jharotha,* assembled their forces, and marched against the Sikhs. Arif Beg Khan, the nazim's deputy, came out of Lahor and camped near Shahganj, for the protection of the city. The Guru's first position was at Kot Mirza Jan, where he threw up earthworks. Before he had completed his defences, the advance of the Muhammadans forced him to evacuate that place, and he then retired with 10,000 men on Gurdaspur, a small town founded by Bhai Dip Chand, a fakir.†

The reports of the Sikh ravages sent in to the Court caused great alarm, and on the 15th Rabi I. 1127 (20th March 1715) a sharp reproof was administered to Abdus-samad Khan, and at the same time, Qamr-ud-din Khan, son of Mhd. Amin Khan, Afrasyab Khan, the third Bakhshi, Muzaffar Khan, Rajah Udait Singh Bundela, Rajah Gopal Sing Bhadauriya, and other nobles were sent to reinforce him.‡

On the 13th Rabi II. 1127 (17th April 1715) reports were received at Dihli that, after plundering the town of Batala, the Guru had taken up his position in an earthen fort at Gurdaspur. This small town lies forty-four miles north-east of Amritsar, in the Bari Duaba. The Sikh leader made every effort to strengthen his defences and increase his store of supplies. He cut the canal known as the *Shah-nahr* and other small streams below the hills, and allowed the water to spread, so that owing to the quagmire thus formed, neither man nor

* Gujarat, 70 m.n.w. of Lahor (Thornton, 358); Amanabad, 33 m.n.w. of Lahor (Thornton 302); Parsarur, about 60 m.n. of Lahor—Jharotha (or Jarautia), a tribe of Rajputs in the Kangra District (Ibbetson, *Census*, para. 459).

† Mhd. Qasim, *fol.* 178. Mhd. Qasim was present in these operations, and at the siege of Gurdaspur, being then in the service of Arif Beg Khan.

‡ Kamwar Khan, 154; Anon. Fragment, *fol.* 22*b*. Qamr-ud-din Khan had just returned from an expedition against Madar Sah, zamindar of Ajaon, (*sarkar* Budaon, *subah* Dihli?)

horse could reach close to the fort. When the Muhammadans arrived, many of the Sikhs were out in the villages collecting supplies. Numbers of them were seized, brought in, and executed ; the rest cut off their long locks, shaved their beards, and hid themselves in Lahor. The rest of the besieged showed great activity in the defence, but Abdus-samad Khan and his son, at the head of their own men and those of the faujdars, daily met and defeated the sorties of the garrison. Two or three times a day, forty or fifty of the Sikhs would come out to gather grass for their cattle, and when attacked they faced the Mughals with bow, gun, and sword. The common soldiers were so afraid of the Guru's sorceries that they prayed he might soon take to flight as before. The further progress of the investment was reported to Court in a letter received on the 26th Rabi II. 1127 (30th April 1715).*

Abdus-samad Khan soon perceived that 30,000 men would be required to prevent the escape of the besieged and the carrying in of supplies. The reinforcements brought by Qamr-ud-din Khan were therefore very welcome. When the line of investment had been carried to within cannon-shot of the fort, the work of closing it in on all sides was divided between the several commanders. Abdus-samad Khan took one side, Qamr-ud-din Khan and Zakariya Khan received charge each of one side, and the fourth side was made over to the faujdars and zamindars. United efforts being necessary, the tents were pitched close together all round the fort and rope was joined to rope. †

Night and day missiles from the fort fell in the camp. To protect man and beast, the soldiers threw up an earthen bank, ten to twenty yards long, before each tent, and sheltered themselves behind it in the trench thus made. By slow degrees, so that the process might not be noticed, they closed all the openings between each shelter, and before the Sikhs were aware of it, they were surrounded as if by a wall. The Sikhs, relying on their successful evasions on former occasions, tried their

* Kamwar Khan, 155; Mhd. Qasim, 178, 180; Khafi Khan ii. 764.

† Anon. Fragment, 23b.

best to sweep the obstacle away, but the Muhammadans triumphantly resisted all their attempts to break through and make their escape. So bold and indomitable were the Guru's followers, that they impressed their adversaries with the greatest respect for their fighting qualities. It was feared that the garrison might by a sortie *en masse*, and by sacrificing themselves, secure the escape of their leader. The superstitious soldiery were fully persuaded that the Guru by his incantations could turn himself into the shape of a dog or cat. Thus every dog or cat they saw from their entrenchments was at once a target for stones or arrows. The struggle continued for two months and many lives were lost on both sides.*

By this time the investment had advanced a musket-shot nearer to the walls and it was resolved to surround the fort with a field-work. A thousand axemen and a thousand carpenters were employed in cutting trees, two thousand carts and two thousand camels carried wood and earth to the spot. When the circle round the fort had been completed, mounds of earth were raised on the trunks of the trees, from distance to distance, and at the foot of the stockade, a deep and wide ditch was made. In spite of this the Sikhs continued their defence without any relaxation of effort. Nor were the besiegers idle. They drove subterranean passages towards each corner of the fort. Before Abdus-samad Khan's approach had reached the main gate, Qamr-ud-din Khan succeeded in capturing the ditch and a bastion, from which the artillery and musketry fire of the garrison had done great execution. Zakariya Khan obtained possession of a second gate, the one chiefly used by the garrison. Other commanders also advanced their works, and on all sides the Sikhs were much hampered. Their provisions had now come to an end, not a grain being left in their store-houses.†

Men would make overtures to the Muhammadan soldiers and buy from them a little grain at the rate of two or three

* Anon. Fragment, 23*a*; Khafi Khan, ii. 764. Yahya Khan, *Tazkirat-ul-muluk*, *fol*. 12*a*.

† Anon. Fragment, 23*a*.

shillings a pound ; also as the Sikhs were not strict observers of caste, they slaughtered oxen and other animals, and not having any firewood, ate the flesh raw. Many died of dysentery and privation. Many began to pick up and eat whatever they found on the roads. When all the grass was gone, they gathered the leaves from the trees. When these were consumed, they stripped the bark and broke off the small shoots, dried them, ground them down, and used them instead of flour, thus keeping body and soul together. They also collected the bones of animals and used them in the same way. Some assert that they saw a few of the Sikhs cut flesh from their own thighs, roast it, and eat it. [K. K. 763, Qasim 181.]

When things had come to this pass, all food being exhausted, and the smell of the putrid bodies of men and animals making the place untenable, the Sikh leaders made overtures for surrender on certain conditions. Abdus-samad Khan refused to make any concessions, and at length the Guru submitted unconditionally ; the Muhammadans entered the fort and made prisoners of everybody found alive within it. Of these prisoners two or three hundred were executed by the general's order, their heads being then filled with straw and fixed on spears. As it was known that many of the Sikhs had swallowed whatever gold coins they had, to save them from plunder, the dead bodies were ripped open, and thus much wealth fell into the hands of the low camp-followers and the Mughal soldiers. The rest of the prisoners were placed in fetters and kept to grace the triumphal entry into Dihli. The surrender of Gurdaspur took place on the 21st Zul Hijja 1127 (17th Dec. 1715). The list of arms taken and money seized does not give a very exalted notion of either the military strength or of the wealth of the Sikh leader.* In spite of this, he and his men had resisted all the force that the Empire could bring against them for the space of eight months. [Kamwar 162.]

* The arms delivered into the armoury at Dihli were 1000 swords, 278 shields, 173 bows and quivers, 180 matchlocks, 114 daggers, 217 long knives. The valuables were a few gold ornaments, 23 gold coins, and a little over 600 Rupees—Kamwar Khan, 163 (entry of 15th Rabi 1128).

Abdus-samad Khan asked for permission to come to Dihli in person with his prisoner, but he was told to remain and attend to the government of his province, sending in the Guru and the other prisoners in charge of his son, Zakariya Khan, and of Qamr-ud-din Khan, the son of Mhd. Amin Khan. On the 15th Rabi I. 1128 the arrival of the party at Agharabad, just north of the city, was reported at Court. Mhd. Amin Khan was sent out at once to make all arrangements for bringing the Guru and his followers in procession from Agharabad to the palace. The ceremonial to be followed was that observed after the capture of Sambhaji, son of Shivaji, the Mahratta. [*Ibid.*]

The triumphal entry with the prisoners took place on the 17th Rabi I. 1128 (10th March 1716). The road from Agharabad to the Lahori Gate of the palace, a distance of several miles, was lined on both sides with troops. Banda sat in an iron cage placed on the back of an elephant. He wore a long, heavy-skirted Court dress (*jama*) of gold brocade, the pattern on it being of pomegranate flowers, and a gold-embroidered turban of fine red cotton cloth. Behind him stood, clad in chain mail, with drawn sword in hand, one of the principal Mughal officers. In front of the elephant were carried, raised on bamboo poles, the heads of the Sikh prisoners who had been executed, the long hair streaming over them like a veil. Along with these, the body of a cat was exposed at the end of a pole, meaning that, even down to four-footed animals, everything in Gurdaspur had been destroyed. Behind the Guru's elephant followed the rest of the prisoners, seven hundred and forty in number. They were seated, two and two, on camels without saddles. One hand of each man was attached to his neck by two pieces of wood, which were held together by iron pins. On their heads were high caps of a ridiculous shape made of sheep's skin and adorned with glass beads. A few of the principal men, who rode nearest to the elephant, had been clothed in sheep's skins with the woolly side outwards, so that the common people compared them to bears. When the prisoners had passed, they were followed by the Nawab Mhd. Amin Khan Chin, accompanied by his son, Qamr-ud-din Khan and his son-in-law, Zakariya Khan. In this

order the procession passed on through the streets to the palace.*

The streets were so crowded with spectators that to pass was difficult. Such a crowd had been rarely seen. The Muhammadans could hardly contain themselves for joy. But the Sikhs, in spite of the condition to which they had been reduced, maintained their dignity and no sign of dejection or humility could be detected on their countenances. Many of them, as they passed along on their camels, seemed happy and cheerful. If any spectator called out to them that their evil deeds and oppressions had brought them where they then were, they retorted, without a moment's hesitation, in the most reckless manner. They were content, they said, that Fate had willed their capture and destruction. If any man in the crowd threatened that he would kill them then and there, they shouted, "Kill us, kill us, why should we fear death? It was only through hunger and thirst that we fell into your hands. If that had not been the case, you know already what deeds of bravery we are capable of."

By the Emperor's order the Guru Banda, with Taj Singh and another leader, was made over to Ibrahim-ud-din Khan, commander of the artillery, and they were placed in prison at the Tirpoliya or Triple Gate. The Guru's wife, his three-year-old infant, and the child's wet-nurse, were taken by Darbar Khan, the nazir, and placed in the harem. With the exception of between twenty and thirty of the chief men, who were sent to prison with the Guru, the remaining prisoners were made over for execution to Sarbarah Khan, the city *kotwal* or head of the police. The work began at the *chabutra*, or chief police office, on the 22nd Rabi I. (15th March 1716), and one hundred men were executed every day for a week. All observers, Indian and European, unite in remarking on the

---

* Mirza Muhammad 256, Anon. Fragment 24*a*, Kamwar Khan 162, J. T. Wheeler, *Early Records*, 180, (letter of 10th March 1716 O.S.=20th March N.S.) and Orme Collections (India Office) vol. vii. p. 1708. Mirza Mhd. joined the procession at the Salt Market (*Mandavi-i-namak*) and marched with it to the palace. The embassy from the E. I. Company, at the head of which was Mr. John Surman, was in Dihli at the time.

wonderful patience and resolution with which these men underwent their fate. Their attachment and devotion to their leader were wonderful to behold. They had no fear of death, they called the executioner *Mukt*, or the Deliverer,* they cried out to him joyfully "O *Mukt!* kill me first!" Every day one hundred victims met their fate and artificers were kept in attendance to sharpen the executioners' swords. After the heads had been severed from the bodies, the bodies were thrown into a heap, and at night-fall they were loaded into carts, taken out of the city, and hung up on the trees.†

Although life was promised to those who became Muhammadans, not one prisoner proved false to his faith. Among them was a youth, whose mother made many supplications to Qutb-ul-mulk, through Ratan Chand, his diwan or principal man of business. She said she was a widow, had but this son, and he had been unjustly seized, being no disciple or follower of the Guru but only a prisoner in his hands. The Wazir interceded and obtained the boy's life. The woman took the order of release to the kotwal, who brought out the prisoner and told him he was free. The youth said "I know not this woman, what does she want with me? I am a true and loyal follower of the Guru, for whom I give my life, what is his fate shall be mine also." He then met his death without flinching.‡

At length on the 29th Jamadi II. 1128 (19th June 1716) Banda and his remaining followers were led out to execution. The rich Khatris of the city, who were secretly favourable to his tenets, had offered large sums for his release. But all these offers were rejected. The execution was entrusted to Ibrahim-ud-din Khan, *Mir Atash*, or general of artillery, and Sarbarah Khan, the kotwal. The Guru, dressed as on the day of his entry, was again placed on an elephant and taken through

* *Mukt* is the final deliverance of the soul from the body, and exemption from further transmigration (Shakespeare, *Dictionary*, Col. 1938).

† Kamwar Khan 163, Mirza Muhammad 259, Shiu Das *Munavvar-ul-kalam*, *fol.* 10, J. T. Wheeler, *loc. cit.*

‡ Shiu Das *fol.* 10*b*, Khafi Khan ii. 766, Khush-hal Chand *Nadir-uz-zamani*, 405*b*.

the streets of the old city to the shrine of Khwaja Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki,* and there paraded round the tomb of the Emperor Shah Alam, Bahadur Shah. After he had been made to dismount and was seated on the ground, his young son was put into his arms and he was told to take the child's life. He refused. Then the executioner killed the child with a long knife, dragged out its liver, and thrust it into the Guru's mouth. His own turn came next. First of all his right eye was removed by the point of a butcher's knife, next his left foot was cut off, then his two hands were severed from his body, and finally he was decapitated. His companions were also executed at the same time. His wife was made a Muhammadan and given over to Dakhini Begam, the Emperor's maternal aunt.†

The Muhammadans looked on this ruthless execution as a fitting retaliation for the cruelties the man had inflicted on their fellow-religionists. Khafi Khan [766] sententiously sums up the matter with the proverb "Who gets not what he has done ; who reaps not what he has sown?" and he quotes the lines

> Forget not the retribution for transgression!
> Wheat springs from wheat, barley from barley.

The Sikh Spiritual Succession.

The Sikhs, as a body, deny the spiritual authority of any one who came after Guru Govind Singh. But in a modified form he had successors, and as a conclusion to this section, I will add a few words carrying on the story into the reign of Muhammad Shah (1719-1748).

Govind Singh left no surviving natural issue. But at his death in 1708, as already stated, a boy named Ajit Singh was brought forward by the disciples as his adopted son. After receiving an imperial *mansab*, he was raised to the seat of authority as the head of the sect. He finally found his way to Dihli, in charge of Govind Singh's widow, Mata, or Mother,

* The place is familiarly known to us as the Qutb Minar.

† Kamwar Khan 165, 166; Mirza Muhammad, 289; Shiu Das, 11*a*; Anon. Fragment, 24*b*; Khafi Khan ii. 765.

Sundari. In Farrukh-siyar's reign, when he grew up to manhood, evil advisers persuaded him to set up entirely on his own account. Mata Sundari was turned out, and necessarily a schism arose, she claiming for herself a separate spiritual head-ship. Many Sikhs forsook Ajit Singh and followed her. At length in the seventh year of Muhammad Shah, a false accusation was brought that one of the Wearers of Patches* had been killed by him. Some two to three thousand Muhammadans raised a disturbance and with much clamour brought their complaint to Qamr-ud-din Khan, Itimad-ud-daulah, the Wazir. Fearing a serious riot, the Wazir sent some troops, who captured Ajit Singh and he was executed.†

Jahi Singh, son of Ajit Singh, was at that time very young. His well-wishers, fearing that some harm might come to him, carried him off to Mathura and in 1173 H. (Aug. 1759—Aug. 1760) when Chatarman wrote, he was still living there. Many believed in and followed him, but some of the sect had betaken themselves to others.

Mata Sundari, Govind Singh's widow, when the quarrel with Ajit Singh took place, started on her own account and drew many after her. On her death, her party transferred their allegiance to Sahib Dei, known as the *Kuwara Dula* or the Virgin Bride. She was the daughter of some hill-rajah, who had sent her to Govind Singh. Before her arrival, he had departed to the other world. But she refused to take any other husband and adopted the life of a religious mendicant. On Mata Sundari's death, Sahib Dei succeeded, but after a year she too died. These two ladies had continued to live in Dihli. In 1173 (1759-60) the only religious leader of the Sikhs, was Jahi Singh, son of Ajit Singh, who then lived in Mathura with a good following of from one to two hundred persons. [*Chahar Gulshan*, 143*a*.]

---

* *Khirkahposh* = Religious mendicant or dervish.

† Rai Chatarman, *Chahar Gulshan*, my copy *fol.* 143*a*, and *Tarikh-i-Mhdi*, year 1137, "Guru Ajit Singh, son of Guru Govind Singh, successor of Nanak, killed on Friday the 4th Jamadi I. (=18th January 1725) at Shahjahanabad for rebellion, by the Emperor's order."

SEC. 20.—THE JAT CAMPAIGN, (SEPTEMBER 1716—APRIL 1718).

We have now to deal with another branch of that widespread Jat race, which formed such a large proportion of the Sikh fighting line. Without entering into Colonel James Tod's speculations about their identity with the Goths or Getæ, it may be assumed as a certainty that, for many hundreds of years, a branch of this people has been settled in the country south of the Jamuna, between the cities of Agra and Dihli. This region, ending on the east at the Chambal river or a little beyond it, marks the eastern limit of their advance from the west. East and north-east of that point there are practically no Jats. Their position on the flank of the high road between two great capitals and of the routes from both those places through Ajmer onwards to the Dakhin, must in all ages have given this robust race an opening for plundering on the highways, a temptation which they found it impossible to resist.*

Without attempting to carry very far back the history of these Jat depredations, we find, without question, that in the reign of Shah Jahan (1047 H., 1637), they killed Murshid Quli Khan, the *faujdar* of Mathura, during an attack on one of their strongholds. In the next reign, that of Alamgir, they several times gave trouble. In Zul Hijja 1079 H. (April 1669) another *faujdar*, Abdun-nabi, lost his life in an attack on a village called Sorah, the home of a Jat freebooter named Gokala, who had raided the town of Sadabad in the Duaba. Alamgir marched in person from Agra, and sent on before him a new *faujdar*, Hasan Ali Khan, son of Allah Wirdi Khan. Gokala and a follower of his, Sanki, were captured and executed, limb being torn from limb ; Gokala's daughter was married to

* A lively picture of the dangers of this road early in Bahadur Shah's reign is given by Yar Muhammad, *Dastur-ul-insha*, 130. Between Mathura and Dihli the road had been entirely stopped for two months, and a crowd of many hundred travellers, including the wife of Amin-ud-din Sambhali, had collected. In 1712 the Dutch envoy and his party also found the road infested by robbers, who were, no doubt, Jats, F. Valentyn iv. 302. The same state of things is reported in the diary of our own envoy, John Surman, a year or two afterwards, Orme Collections, [illegible] entries of the 8th, 16th, and 30th June 1715.

the Emperor's favourite slave, and his son was made a Muhammadan. [Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib*, iii. ch. 35.]

Alamgir's prolonged absence in the Dakhin speedily weakened the imperial authority in Northern India. In their master's absence the provincial governors took their ease and winked at abuses. Favoured by this negligence, the Jats resumed their depredations. At length in 1099 H. (1687-8) Khan Jahan, Zafar Jang, Kokaltash, and Prince Bidar Bakht, son of Azam Shah, were sent from the Dakhin to restore order. At this time the chief stronghold of the Jats was at a village called Sansani, eight miles south of Dig, and sixteen miles north-west of Bharatpur. This place was taken on the 15th Ramzan 1099 H. (14th July, 1688), the chief, Raja Ram, was killed, and his head sent to the Emperor. Prince Shah Alam, when he was put in charge of the Agra *subah* in the thirty-ninth year, *i.e.*, 1106 H. (1695), also had trouble with the Jats. Bhajja, the father of Churaman, is the next leader of whom we hear, and his abode was also at Sansani. In the forty-ninth year of Alamgir's reign, 2nd Rajab 1117 H. (19th October, 1705), Sansani was destroyed a second or third time by Mukhtar Khan, the then *subahdar* of Agra ; and shortly afterwards, on the 18th Ramzan 1119 H. (13th December, 1707), Riza Bahadur attacked it again, sending in ten carts filled with weapons and one thousand heads.*

When Bahadur Shah and his brother, Azam Shah, took the field against each other and met between Agra and Dholpur, Churaman collected as many men as he could, and hung about the neighbourhood of both armies, ready to pillage the vanquished. In the end, so much plunder fell into his hands, that he became from that time forth a most formidable partisan leader, with whom it was necessary to reckon in such troublous times. While Bahadur Shah was at Agra, Churaman came in, and professing to have repented of his turbulent ways, was granted the rank of 1500 *zat*, 500 horse. In Ramzan 1120 H.,

* Chura, or more politely Churaman, son of Bhajja, of Sansani, had by this time succeeded to the leadership of the Jats. *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 311, 498; Danishmand Khan, under above date; Khafi Khan ii. 316; *Masir-ul-umara*, i. 809.

(November 1708), he helped Riza Bahadur, the imperial *faujdar*, in an attack on Ajit Singh, zamindar of Kama, where Churaman was wounded and Riza Bahadur was killed. In 1122 H. (1710) Churaman joined the Emperor at Ajmer, and took a part in the campaign against the Sikhs at Sadhaura and Lohgarh. He went on with Bahadur Shah to Lahor, and was present during the fighting which took place there after that Emperor's death (March 1712). He also seems to have fallen upon and plundered the baggage of both sides impartially, when Jahandar Shah and Farrukh-siyar met in battle array near Agra in Zul Hijja 1124 H. (January 1713).

Early in Farrukh-siyar's reign Chabela Ram, then *subahdar* of Agra, received orders to march against Churaman, and efforts to reduce his power were continued for a long time without success, owing to the underhand opposition of the Wazir and his brother. The next holder of that Government, Samsam-ud-daulah Khan Dauran, not feeling strong enough to use force, tried to make terms. Churaman agreed to come to Court, and on the 16th Ramzan (5th October, 1713), when he arrived at Barahpula near the city, Rajah Bahadur Rathor, son of Azim-ush-shan's maternal uncle, was sent out to meet and escort him. Churaman marched in at the head of 3,000 to 4,000 horsemen, and was conducted to the *Diwan-i-khas* by Samsam-ud-daulah in person. Charge of the royal highway from Barahpula near Dihli to the crossing on the Chambal, was made over to him, and he soon returned home. But by slow degrees he fell into disfavour, the extent of the country he took possession of was thought excessive, his realization of road dues was objected to, and his interference with *jagir*-holders was disliked. All that a *jagirdar* could collect from him was a little money thrown to him as if it were an alms. These things were repeated to the Emperor in detail, over and over again, until they produced an effect, and he resolved that some action must be taken. The difficulty was to find any one competent to undertake such an arduous task. Churaman had meanwhile constructed a new stronghold at a place called Thun.*

* Thun does not seem to be well known now. Can it be the Toond of the *Indian Atlas*, sheet 50, between Dig and Gobardhan? Or is it

At length in the fifth year of the reign, Jamadi II. 1128 H., May—June 1716, Rajah Jai Singh Sawai returned to Court* from his Government of Malwa. Finding out Farrukh-siyar's secret desire to get rid of Churaman, he offered himself as ready to undertake and carry out the work. Early in Shawwal (September 1716) he received his orders, and started on the 9th of that month (25th September 1716), being the Hindu festival of the Dasahra. Some troops under Sanjar Khan and Shamsher Khan, of the *Wala-shahis*, were posted at Palwal, thirty-six or thirty-seven miles from the city, to keep communications open, and provide convoys from that place to Hodal in one direction, and Faridabad in the other. A large sum in cash was disbursed to Rajah Jai Singh from the imperial treasury, and he sent for troops from his own country. Serving under him were Maharao Bhim Singh Hada, of Kota, Rajah Gaj Singh Narwari, and Maharao Rajah Budh Singh Hada of Bundi.†

Thun having been completely invested, the siege began on the 5th Zul Hijja 1128 H. (19th November, 1716). The fort was provided with lofty walls and a deep ditch filled from springs, and round it spread a thick and thorny jungle "through which a bird could hardly make its way." Supplies were abundant ; indeed, (though this is probably an exaggeration), there was said to be grain, salt, *ghi*, tobacco, cloth, and firewood sufficient for twenty years. When the siege was imminent, Churaman had forced all merchants and traders, with their families, to quit the place, leaving their goods behind them. Churaman made himself personally responsible for their compensation if he gained the day, and as the property could not be removed, the owners gave their consent without much demur.‡

Jatolee Thoon, 8 miles west of Sansani? An 18th century writer remarks: "Il y a encore (1767) un Thoun, mais dans un autre endroit, peutétre pour conserver la mémoire d'une place qui, quoique malheureuse, n'a pas donne peu de reputation aux Jats," Orme Collections, p. 4218.

* Mace-bearers were sent to fetch him on the 27th Rabi II. 1128 H. (19th April, 1716), Kamwar Khan 140, 163; *Masir-ul-umara;* Mirza Muhammad, 293.

† Kamwar Khan, 140, 168; Shiu Das, 11*b*.

‡ Kamwar Khan, 168; Shiu Das, 12*b*. Hodal, 18 or 19 m. s. of Palwal *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 50; Faridabad, *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 49 s.e. ;

Churaman's son, Muhkam Singh, and his nephew, Rupa, issued from the fort and gave battle in the open. In his report of the 7th Muharram, 1129 H. (21st December, 1716), the Rajah claimed a victory. He next cut down all the trees round the fort, and erected a large number of small guard-houses, in which he placed his men. A large cannon, said to throw a ball weighing a Shahjahani maund, was sent to him, being escorted with great ceremony from Palwal to Hodal, whence it was taken on to Thun by Nusrat Yar Khan, the deputy governor of Agra. Three hundred maunds of gunpowder, one hundred and fifty maunds of lead and five hundred rockets were ordered to be sent from the arsenal at Agra. At first Abdus-samad Khan, governor of Lahor, was recalled from the Panjab, but after he had reached Dihli, the idea of sending him was abandoned, and Sayyid Muzaffar Khan, Khan Jahan, maternal uncle of the two Sayyids and then governor of Ajmer, was summoned to take his place. The Sayyid was despatched to Thun on the 30th Muharram 1129 H. (13th June, 1717).*

In spite of the investment of Thun, the roads were not cleared of robbers. The other zamindars and villagers took Churaman's part; they pillaged travellers and plundered villages. For instance, a caravan of merchants arrived at Hodal, consisting of thirteen hundred carts loaded with leather bottles full of clarified butter. Instead of giving the usual notice to Sanjar Khan, the owners started for Palwal, in the belief that their own one thousand matchlockmen would suffice. When two or three *kos* from Hodal, they were surrounded, the armed guards threw down their guns and fled, while the Jats and other plunderers drove off the carts into the neighbouring villages. About twenty lakhs' worth of property, as the owners asserted, had been taken. Sanjar Khan soon reached the spot with his troops, but he was afraid to enter the villages, because they were in the *jagirs* of the Wazir, Qutb-ul-mulk, and of Khan Dauran. [Kamwar 168-175.]

Narwar, Thornton, 685, 210 m.s. of Dihli, the Narwar Rajah was a Kachhwaha; Bundi, Thornton, 1410, 245 m. s. w. of Dihli; Kota, Thornton, 525, 265 m. s. of Dihli; Palwal, *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 49 s. e.

* Abdus-samad Khan reached Dihli on the 12th Muharram, Sayyid Khan Jahan on the 25th, (Kamwar Khan, 169). Khafi Khan, ii. 777, says,

Rajah Jai Singh Sawai was never distinguished as a soldier or general in the field, and in spite of all he could do, the siege dragged on for twenty months. The rains of 1717 were very late in coming, prices rose very high, and great expense fell upon the Rajah in bringing supplies from his own country of Amber. In Safar 1130 H. (January 1718), the Rajah reported that he had many encounters with the Jats, in which he had overcome them, but owing to support given to them at Court, they were not inclined to yield. And, no doubt, the presence of Khan Jahan, a near relation to the Wazir, caused a division of authority which was fatal to success. At length Churaman made overtures to Qutb-ul-mulk through his agent at Dihli, offering a tribute of thirty lakhs of Rupees to the Government and a present of twenty lakhs for the minister himself. Thereupon Qutb-ul-mulk espoused the Jat's cause. He represented to Farrukh-siyar that Rajah Jai Singh had received a large amount of money and that the monthly expenses were very heavy. Yet, although twenty months had elapsed, no definite result had been arrived at. Very reluctantly Farrukh-siyar consented to the terms offered. Sayyid Khan Jahan was written to, directing him to bring Churaman to Court, with his sons and brothers' sons, after having protected the whole of his property from pillage. At the same time a flattering *farman* was despatched to Rajah Jai Singh, thanking him for his exertions, informing him that Churaman had made overtures which had been accepted, and that all hostilities must cease. By this time Rajah Jai Singh believed that victory was within his grasp, and now, by this negotiation over his head, the whole fruit of his labour was taken from him! Although inwardly raging, he obeyed orders, withdrew his men, and raised the siege.*

Qutb-ul-mulk's ill-will to Rajah Jai Singh is said to have arisen in the following way. When the Rajah first came to Farrukh-siyar's Court, he found himself very favourably received by the new Emperor. In former reigns a noble, when

---

Sayyid Khan Jahan delayed two or three months outside the city before he finally started.

* Shiu Das 14*b*, 15*b* (where there is a copy of the *hasb-ul-hukm*, and 15*a* (copy of *farman*); Khafi Khan, ii. 777; Mirza Muhammad, 352.

he found the sovereign gracious to him, never thought of paying court to any one else. Believing himself secure in the Emperor's good graces, Rajah Jai Singh neglected to ask for the support and favour of Qutb-ul-mulk. The Wazir resented this neglect. He was further vexed about the campaign against Churaman, a matter on which his advice had not been asked. Thus he privately applied himself to prevent the Rajah from reaping the reward of his undertaking. He instructed Khan Jahan, his kinsman, accordingly, and it is said that Churaman was secretly aided with supplies of food and powder. After more than eighteen months of exertion, nothing had been effected. Farrukh-siyar grew angry, as he believed the conquest to be an easy one ; and on several occasions, Qutb-ul-mulk made covert allusions to the effect that the task was one beyond Jai Singh's strength. In the end Churaman's proposals were brought forward and accepted as already stated. [M. M. 352.]

On the 10th Jamadi I. 1130 H. (10th April, 1718) Khan Jahan arrived at Dihli with Churaman and his nephew, Rupa. They went first to visit Qutb-ul-mulk, which angered Farrukh-siyar very much. On the 19th (19th April, 1718) the formal presentation to the Emperor took place, the introduction being made by Qutb-ul-mulk. Farrukh-siyar granted this audience very ungraciously, and absolutely refused to see Churaman a second time. Two days afterwards Sayyid Khan Jahan, in return for his services, received the addition to his titles of the word *Bahadur* and was promoted to 5,000 horse. On the 30th (30th April, 1718) it was settled through Qutb-ul-mulk that the Jat leader should pay fifty lakhs of Rupees in cash and goods, to be liquidated by instalments. Rajah Jai Singh and Maharao Bhim Singh returned to Dihli from Thun on the 29th Jamadi II. (29th May, 1718). [Kamwar 177, K. K. 777.]

SEC. 21.—RENEWAL OF INTRIGUES AGAINST THE SAYYIDS. July 1715—April 1718.

With the return to Court, on the 11th Jamadi II. 1127 H. (13th June 1715), of Nizam-ul-mulk, after his supersession by Husain Ali Khan in the government of the Dakhin, the plots against the two brothers once more commenced. Nizam-ul-

mulk was angry at losing the Dakhin. This is betrayed by the fact that when he was on his march to Dihli, although Husain Ali Khan passed him at a distance of only a few miles, he failed to visit the latter. According to the customs of the country this was most disrespectful, Husain Ali Khan being his superior in rank. At Court Nizam-ul-mulk, who had been trained in the school of Alamgir, found it difficult to remain on good terms with the men in Farrukh-siyar's confidence, and when in Jamadi I. 1129 H. (April 1717), he was made *faujdar* of the Muradabad *chakla*, he elected to proceed there in person, instead of appointing a deputy.*

During these two years (1715-17) the Emperor started on many hunting expeditions, of which the principal object was supposed to be the finding an opportunity to make away with Abdullah Khan. Farrukh-siyar was absent from Dihli for a month, from the 21st Rajab to the 25th Shaban 1127 H. (22nd July—25th August 1715), being then forced to return by illness. It was during this expedition that the secret orders already spoken of were issued to Daud Khan to resist Husain Ali Khan, Nizam-ul-mulk having been taken into council for this purpose. Abdullah Khan, during the interval, enlisted fresh troops and prepared to defend himself. Since, after waiting a month, no news came from Daud Khan, and Farrukh-siyar's ailment had increased, he was forced to return to Dihli. Then on the 10th Shawwal 1127 H. (8th October, 1715) came the report from the Dakhin that on the 8th Ramzan (6th September, 1715) Daud Khan Panni had been defeated and slain by Husain Ali Khan near Burhanpur. Four days afterwards (12th October, 1715) Abdullah Khan, who had been a great deal absent from *darbar*, presented himself at audience, laid offerings before the Emperor, and congratulated him upon the recent victory over the rebel, Daud Khan. False speeches were made and lying compliments exchanged between Emperor and Wazir. The secret cause of Daud Khan's resistance was already known to the Wazir, and the seeds of fresh ill-will had been sown in both their hearts. One story is that Farrukh-siyar, in Qutb-ul-mulk's

* Nizam-ul-mulk returned to Court on the 29th September, 1718. Kamwar Khan 156, Mirza Muhammad 393.

presence, said it was a pity that such a brave man as Daud Khan should have been slain. To this the Wazir retorted: "I suppose, if my brother had been slain instead, it would have been a good thing and acceptable to your Majesty?"*

It seems that after Daud Khan's death, his belongings fell into the hands of Husain Ali Khan. Among these the Sayyid's servants found several letters from Khan Dauran, and an imperial *farman* granting the Government of the Dakhin to Daud Khan. These papers were sent to Qutb-ul-mulk, who began at once to raise troops and prepared for resistance. Khan Dauran was deputed to conciliate him. At their interview, Qutb-ul-mulk complained of the parcel of beggars' sons, newly risen in the world, who employed their time in slander and detraction. What good could result? Khan Dauran replied, "Who is the wretched creature? No man worthy the name of man resorts to slander." Qutb-ul-mulk placed in his hand the original letters to Daud Khan, and said: "Look at these, who is the writer?" Khan Dauran unfolded them and began to read. As he did so, the sweat stood on his face like drops of dew, and his face flushed a deep red. After a moment's silence, he began a defence founded on obedience to the Emperor's orders. "When his sovereign ordered, how could he dare to disobey?" In short, he talked much, but was encountered by Qutb-ul-mulk at every turn, until he was reduced to silence and took his departure.

SECTION 22.—RETURN OF MIR JUMLA TO DIHLI.

Part of the compact which ended the first quarrel between the Emperor and his minister, was the dismissal from Court of Mir Jumla, who was appointed governor of Patna Azimabad. He left Dihli in Zul Hijja 1126 H. (December, 1714), and his doings at Patna will be spoken of when we come to deal with events in the provinces. Suffice it to say here, that owing to his reckless mismanagement, Mir Jumla was soon unable to meet the pay of the large and turbulent force of Mughals that

* *Siyar-ul-mutakherin* 29; Kamwar Khan 157, 158; Mirza Muhammad 204.

he had taken with him to Patna. Partly to escape from their demands, and partly, as is believed, in obedience to a secret letter from Farrukh-siyar, he prepared to leave his Government and return to Dihli.* As far as Benares he came openly, but at that place, leaving every one behind, he started for Dihli in a covered litter such as is used by women. In nine days he was at Dihli, which he entered secretly during the night of the 22nd Muharram 1128 H. (16th January, 1716). He had left no time for the Wazir to hear of his starting or forbid his coming. Rumours of his arrival spread through the city, and Farrukh-siyar, when made aware of it the next morning, expressed no disapproval. It was currently believed that, in reality, he was more pleased than he dared to show.†

When Qutb-ul-mulk learnt that Mir Jumla was again in Dihli, he went at once to the Emperor. Farrukh-siyar swore the most solemn oaths that he had not sent for the man. To this Qutb-ul-mulk answered that whatever His Majesty might wish was no doubt right and proper, but he might look on the speedy return of Husain Ali Khan as an absolute certainty. The Emperor, greatly frightened at the prospect, sent officers with peremptory orders to Mir Jumla to withdraw to Lahor.‡

Mir Jumla procrastinated, and thus day after day passed. At length, either of themselves or at his instigation, his Mughal troops, seven or eight thousand in number, broke into revolt. They said that the whole of their pay was still due from the

---

* The *Ahwal-ul-khawaqin*, 118*a*, seems to say that by this time Mir Jumla had been removed from his appointment, and made instead *faujdar* of Benares.

† Word of Mir Jumla's arrival was brought to Mirza Muhammad that same night by his relation, Mhd Mir, who had been in the Nawab's service at Patna, Mirza Muhammad 237, Wheeler 178.

‡ Mirza Muhammad, 243. The account in the *Ahwal-ul-khawaqin*, 118*b*, differs from all others. There we are told that from Faridabad, a distance of 10 *kos* from Dihli, Mir Jumla petitioned for an audience. Angry at Mir Jumla's leaving his post without orders, Farrukh-siyar despatched mace-bearers with orders to conduct the fugitive to the fortress of Gwaliyar, and bring back a receipt from the commandant. Qutb-ul-mulk and others then interceded, the offender was pardoned, but no audience was granted. At length, he was ordered to withdraw to his estates.

treasury, and the proper person to represent them was Mir Jumla, their commander, and until their arrears were paid, they would not allow him to stir one step. The houses of Muhammad Amin Khan, second *Bakhshi*, and of Khan Dauran, deputy of the first *Bakhshi*, were also surrounded. The disturbance was prolonged for a month ; and as the house, known as Asaf-ud-daulah's, in which Mir Jumla resided, was close to the palace, he was forced in the end of Safar to move to another house that he owned, called Fidai Khan's, near Khari Baoli.* At this house the whole of the Mughals congregated, their leaders being Sayyid Fath-ullah Khan Khweshgi and Bahadur Dil Khan.† For many days, especially on the 1st Rabi I. (23rd February, 1716), the uproar in the city was indescribable, the streets being filled with Mughal horsemen fully armed and clad in mail. As it was thought that this outbreak would be used as a pretext for an armed attack on his house, Qutb-ul-mulk fortified himself in his quarter of the city, and increased the number of his troops ; while his son-in-law and nephew, Ghairat Khan, who had lately been appointed *faujdar* of Narnol, returned to Dihli, to take part in his uncle's defence. The Emperor placed his personal guards, called the *haft chauki*, on permanent duty at the palace ; and when Qutb-ul-mulk or Khan Dauran went to audience, they were accompanied by the whole of their troops. Mir Jumla took fright at the aspect of affairs and sought refuge in Muhammad Amin Khan's house. At length it was decided that ten *lakhs* of Rupees should be paid to the men, in order to get rid in this way of Mir Jumla, with whom, owing to this conduct, Farrukhsiyar professed to be very angry. All his titles were taken from him ; and he was removed from the offices of *darogha* of the pages (*khawas*) and darogha of the post office (*dak*), which were conferred on his deputies, Amin-ud-din Khan

* Apparently this Bitter Well (*Khari Baoli*) lies behind and to the west of the Jami Masjid; see map of Dihli city in C. T. Metcalfe's *Two Narratives*.

† This is Lachin Beg, known as the *tasmah-kash* or "strap-twister" (strangler).

Bahadur and Mirza Khan. His Government of Azimabad Patna was transferred to Sarbuland Khan.*

On the 9th Rabi I. 1128 H. (3rd March, 1716), Mir Jumla moved to Nizam-ul-mulk's house, and next day that noble conducted him as far as Narela,† and thence sent him on to Sarhind. At that place he delayed seven or eight months, putting up in the common roadside *sarai* in the hope of exciting Farrukh-siyar's commiseration, but finally, by express order, he was forced to move on to Lahor. His titles were not restored until the 21st Jamadi, II. 1128 H. (11th June, 1716), on the intercession of Qutb-ul-mulk, who at the same time obtained for him a *jagir* of three *lakhs* of Rupees. The Mughals sought service where they could. Their principal officer, Bahadur Dil Khan, was for a time with Qutb-ul-mulk, but not succeeding to his wishes, he transferred himself to Khan Dauran. In that service he stopped for a long time, without having any influence ; he was then ordered to join Husain Ali Khan in the Dakhin.‡

SEC. 23.—CONTINUATION OF THE PLOTS.

As soon as the disturbance raised by Mir Jumla's return had been allayed, another hunting expedition was planned. At once the word passed from house to house and from tent to tent, that during the journey the arrest of Qutb-ul-mulk would be arranged. Farrukh-siyar moved to the Shalimar garden at Agharabad§ on the 6th Rabi II. 1128 H. (29th March, 1716), and thence on the 10th, six *kos* further on, to Siuli. He returned to Agharabad on the 26th, and it was here that the

* Mirza Muhammad, 253; Khafi Khan, ii. 770; *Siyar-ul-mutakherin*, 29.

† Narela, *Indian Atlas*, sheet 49 n. e., 16 m. n. of Dihli. Kamwar Khan, 162, says Nizam-ul-mulk and Hamid Khan only went as far as *Mandavi-i-namak* (the Salt Market). Farrukh-siyar ordered Shamsher Khan Afghan to conduct Mir Jumla to Lahor, Kamwar Khan, entry of 7th Rabi I., 1128 H.

‡ Kamwar Khan, 161, 165; Mirza Muhammad, 253. Lachin Beg (Bahadur Dil Khan) turns up in the Dakhin in 1137 H. under Nizam-ul-mulk (battle with Mubariz Khan), see Khafi Khan, ii. 954.

§ Agharabad, a mile or two north of the city.

fight took place on the 29th (21st April, 1716) between the retainers of Samsam-ud-daulah and Muhammad Amin Khan, as already related. Farrukh-siyar returned to the palace on the 11th Jamadi II. (1st June, 1716). An urgent messenger had been sent on the 7th Rabi II. (20th March) to bring Rajah Jai Singh Sawai, from Malwa, and on the 14th Jamadi II. (4th June) the Rajah was reported to be at Sarai Allahwirdi Khan : he was received in audience two days afterwards, Samsam-ud-daulah conducting him from his camp near the Idgah.* Shortly afterwards Rao Rajah Budh Singh Hada, of Bundi, arrived. He had been expelled by Maharajah Bhim Singh Hada, of Kota. Jai Singh introduced the fugitive to the Emperor and obtained for him promises of succour. Every day Rajah Jai Singh seemed to rise in Farrukh-siyar's estimation. Finally, on the 9th Shawwal (25th September, 1716), he was entrusted with the crushing of Churaman Jat, under the circumstances and with the results already recorded.†

Again the Emperor quitted Dihli on the 24th Muharram 1129 H. (7th January, 1717), camping first at Masjid Mochiya. On the 17th Safar (30th January, 1717) he was at Narela, and there Inayatullah Khan Kashmiri, formerly *diwan* of the *Khalsa*, was received on his return from pilgrimage to Mecca, where he had gone early in the reign, on his own removal from office and the execution of his son, Sadullah Khan. Farrukh-siyar was now of opinion that it had been a mistake to remove all the old officials, and that they would have furnished a useful counterpoise to the overwhelming influence of the Sayyids. Inayatullah Khan's return was, therefore, very welcome. He was received into favour, and the disparaging remarks, entered in the official history of the reign in regard to his son, were expunged by the Emperor's own hand. On the 27th Safar (9th February, 1717) Farrukh-siyar was at Koedali, and from the 7th to the 13th Rabi I. (19th to 25th February) near Sonpat.

* The Idgah lies three-quarters of a mile west of the city wall; see plate 47 in Constable's *Hand Atlas*, and plate 1 in Carr Stephen, *Archæology of Dihli*.

† Mirza Muhammad, 260, 275, 293, 302; Kamwar Khan, 163, 165; Khafi Khan, ii. 771; Ijad, 43*a*.

He marched to Siuli on the 26th of that month (9th March, 1717), to Narela on the 1st Rabi II. back to Agharabad on the 3rd, finally re-entering the palace on the 29th of that month (11th April). Itisam Khan, a protégé of Khan Dauran's, had just resigned the office of diwan, worn out with his struggles against undue influence. The next day Inayatullah Khan was given the rank of 4,000 (3,000 horse) and appointed to be *diwan* of the *Khalsa* and the *Tan*, also to be governor of Kashmir, the latter appointment to be exercised by deputy. [*M. U.* ii. 828, K. K. 773, Kamwar 171.]

Inayatullah Khan's appointment was displeasing to Qutb-ul-mulk, who recollected his harsh behaviour to Asad Khan in Alamgir's reign. But Ikhlas Khan, then on very intimate terms with the minister, intervened and effected a reconciliation. Inayatullah Khan undertook to do nothing without the knowledge and consent of Qutb-ul-mulk, and to make no appointments independent of him. On the other hand, it was stipulated that Ratan Chand should not interfere with the work of the *Khalsa* office ; and as Qutb-ul-mulk was naturally indolent and fond of pleasure, being furthermore discouraged by the Emperor's conduct, four or five months would sometimes elapse before he attended at his public office to sign papers, business remaining meanwhile at a standstill. A promise was now made by him that he would come to the office in the palace once or twice a week. For a time the compact was observed, but events soon came to pass which put an end to the truce. [K. K. 774.]

First of all, much to the disgust of Ratan Chand and the other Hindu officials, the *jazya*, or poll-tax on non-Muhammadans, was reimposed. Next Inayatullah Khan endeavoured to reform the system of *jagirs*, or assignments of land revenue in payment for service. The Hindus and eunuchs and Kashmiris, by fraud and force, had acquired rank beyond their deserts, and accumulated in their hands all the most profitable and easily managed *jagirs*, reducing in a corresponding degree the chances of everybody else. Inayatullah Khan, after drawing up some comparative tables, meant to reduce or set aside these excessive grants. Ratan Chand and other officials were

angry at these attempts to reduce their incomes, and on their persuasion Qutb-ul-mulk refused to ratify the scheme. After this time, the Hindus put every obstacle in the *diwan's* way, the agreement between him and the minister ceased to operate, and peace was maintained with difficulty.

During this and the preceding reign, that of Jahandar Shah, the strict rules and regulations for business in all departments were much neglected. Most of the men who knew the old routine had disappeared by death or dismissal. The Wazir was not a trained administrator himself, and paid little or no attention to civil business; Ratan Chand had been allowed to do almost what he liked. His views were narrow, and he was chiefly governed by personal considerations. For several reigns the Emperors had devoted all their efforts to break down the custom of farming out the collection of the revenue. They had tried on all occasions to substitute direct management by paid servants of the State, bearing in mind the truth of the adage, *amani abadani, ijara ujara.** As a result their treasury was full, their subjects contented, and their army well paid. These arrangements were now set aside, and the collections leased by Ratan Chand to the highest bidder. In consequence the revenue fell off, both of the State domains and of the assigned lands, and many *jagirdars* complained to the Emperor of the non-receipt of their allowances. During his term of office, Lutfullah Khan had only made matters worse by granting to *mansabdars* holding the rank of from 50 to 1,000, a sum of fifty Rupees a month, instead of their assignments on the revenue. This money, considering the high prices, did not suffice to meet their expenses, and, as we must remember, it was no doubt very irregularly paid. [Khush-hal 399*b*.]

According to Yahya Khan, one of Farrukh-siyar's grievances against Abdullah Khan was, that whenever he appointed an *amil*, he took from the appointee a writing† in the nature

---

* Roebuck, No. 110, ii. page 106, "Direct management brings prosperity; farming out, ruin."

† *Khat-i-ant* (?), this is some Hindi word, *query* read, "a note of hand." [*Khatian* ? J. S.]

of a contract or lease, and realized the money from the man's banker. This practice was held, rightly enough, to be destructive to the prosperity of the district to which the man was sent. The Emperor requested that it might be abandoned, and that in place of it, all appointments should be made *amani*, that is, should involve complete accounting for gross receipts and expenses, and for the resulting balance. Abdullah Khan refused. He also offered a passive resistance to the re-imposition of the *jazya*, or poll-tax. [Yahya 123*b*.]

About this time a subordinate of the *Khalsa* office, a protégé of Ratan Chand, was called upon to file his accounts, and a large sum was brought out by the auditors as owing by him. Inayatullah Khan imprisoned this defaulter and, in spite of repeated messages from Ratan Chand, refused to release him. One day, the man evaded his guards and took refuge in the house of Ratan Chand. With the Emperor's sanction armed messengers were sent to bring the fugitive from his protector's house, but the Wazir's *diwan* refused to surrender him. Between the Emperor and the minister there was an angry interview, and the latter was ordered to dismiss Ratan Chand, but nothing came of it.

In pursuance of the plan to restore the older men to office, Sayyid Amir Khan Ulwi, who was then fort-commander at Agra, was recalled to Court ; he and his relations were presented on the 9th Rajab 1129 H. (18th June, 1717).* Mirza Muhammad who, as a page, had served under this man in Alamgir's reign, was of opinion that his age (he being then seventy-four) and his failing memory, rendered him unfit for active employment. Samsam-ud-daulah being of the same opinion, and seeing that the old man could never become a dangerous rival, pushed his claims, and as Qutb-ul-mulk was displeased with Amin-ud-din Khan,† obtained for him that noble's office of darogha

* The popular rumour was that Samsam-ud-daulah had fallen into disgrace, and would soon be supplanted in his office of *darogha* of the privy audience-chamber by Sayyid Amir Khan.

† Amin-ud-din Khan obtained re-employment two months afterwards (Mirza Muhammad, 331), and on the 29th Zul Hijja 1129 H. (3rd December, 1718) he was made *Buyutat* of the *Rikab* (*i.e.*, the Court) and of Dihli.

of the *khawas*, or pages, 15th Shawwal 1129 H. (21st September, 1717). Farrukh-siyar's consent to this change was only reluctantly given.* Other appointments of old officials were those of Muhammad Yar Khan, grandson of Asaf Khan, Yamin-ud-daulah,† to be *Khan-saman*, and of Hamid-ud-din Khan Alamgiri, to be *arz mukarrar*, 29th Shaban 1128 H. (17th August, 1716). As already related, it was about this time that the ending of the campaign against Churaman Jat through the intrigues of Qutb-ul-mulk and Sayyid Khan Jahan (April 10th, 1718), added fresh fuel to Farrukh-siyar's anger.‡

* According to Mirza Muhammad, 319, Sayyid Amir Khan's name was Abdul-karim; he was the son of Amir Khan, son of Qasim Khan Namakin. His father died when he was very young; he long received a daily allowance, and eventually obtaining a small *mansab*, rose gradually under Alamgir, and gained the title of Tanak (or Multifat) Khan. He succeeded Anwar Khan as superintendent of the pages, an office that he held for more than fifteen years and up to the death of Alamgir. He had become Khanazad Khan Hafiz, and finally Amir Khan. In Bahadur Shah's reign he was *subahdar* of Agra, up to the end of the reign. In Jahandar Shah's reign he was replaced by Muhammad Mah (Azam Khan), and transferred to charge of the Agra fort. From their residence in Sind, his family bore the epithet of Sindhi, although really they were Sayyids from Hirat. There are the following biographies in the *Masir-ul-umara*: Amir Khan Sindhi, i. 303, Qasim Khan (Mir Abul Qasim), Namakin, iii. 74, Amir Khan (Mir Abul Baqa), d. 1057 H., i. 172. For an explanation of the epithet "Namakin" (not "Tamkin"), see Blochmann *Ain*, i. 470, and table on p. 471. Amir Khan was not long at Court; on the 10th Rabi I. 1130 H. (Kamwar Khan, 176) he was replaced by Muhammad Murad; and on the 9th Jamadi I. 1130 H. (*ibid*, 177), was sent back to Agra as fort commandant. He died on the 28th Zul Qada 1132 H. (30th September, 1720), aged 77 years, and the *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* describes him as the son-in-law of Mir Isa, Himmat Khan (d. 1092 H.) Mir Bakhshi, son of Islam Khan Badakhshi (d. 1072 H.)

† Muhammad Yar Khan (son of Mirza Bahmanyar), *subahdar* of Dihli, *Masir-ul-umara*, iii. 706. His son Hasan Yar Khan died young (*Tarikh-i-Mhdi*, d. 15th-20th Safar 1133 H. aged about 40), and he had no other issue. Muhammad Yar Khan himself died 18th Jamadi I. 1138 H. at Dihli. There are the following biographies of this family in the *Masir-ul-umara*; Asaf Khan, i. 151, d. 1051 H.; Itiqad Khan, i. 232, d. 1082 H; Muhammad Yar Khan, iii. 700, d. 1138 H.

‡ Khafi Khan, ii. 775, 776; Shiu Das, 17*a*; Mirza Muhammad, 293, 319, 228; Kamwar Khan, 172.

Note A. *The Jaziya or Poll-tax*

The *jaziya* tax was re-imposed by Alamgir in his twenty-second year (1090 H., 1679-80), and thus it had been levied for thirty-four years when it was abolished again in the first year of Farrukh-siyar. Alamgir's rules were, no doubt, revived upon its re-introduction through Inayatullah Khan: and here, as in many of his other regulations, Alamgir, a bigoted Muhammadan, studied to imitate as closely as possible the methods laid down by the orthodox doctors of that religion. The exemptions seem to have been numerous. They comprised men of Rum possessing revealed Scriptures (*i.e.*, Jews and Christians), the "idol worshippers of Ajam and of Arab" (whoever they were), apostates, minors, women, slaves, the helpless, the maimed, the blind, the blemished, or the aged poor.

Persons paying the yearly impost were divided into three classes: (I) The poor, (II) the middle class, (III) the rich. The rates were respectively 12, 24, and 48 *dirhams*. But as there was no *dirham* current in India, uncoined silver was to be taken; from the first class, 3 *tolchah*, 1-4/5 *masha*, double that weight from the second, and four times from the third class. Rupees were not to be demanded. But if any one offered them, they were to be received equal to the above weight of silver.*

Poor, middle class, and rich were defined as follows: a poor man was he who had either nothing at all, or property worth two hundred *dirhams*; a middle class man, he who had property worth between 200 and 10,000 *dirhams*; a rich man, he who had over 10,000 *dirhams'* worth of property. A poor man, who had nothing but the strength of his own right arm to rely on, or who had many children, was to be excused.

* As to the *dirham*, see C. J. Rodgers' *Catalogue of Lahor Museum*, p. 206, for a coin stamped *dirham sharai*, or legal drachma, struck at Lahor in Farrukh-siyar's 6th year (1129 H.), possibly in connection with the revival of the *jaziya* tax in that year. It is a square coin weighing 41½ grains. Taking Farrukh-siyar's Rupee as equal to 176 grains, the value of the *dirham* comes out at ·23 of a Rupee, or 3 annas and 8 pies. But the weight of silver claimed makes the three classes of the tax equivalent to Rs. 3-3-6, Rs. 6-7-0, and Rs. 12-14-0, respectively, instead of Rs. 2-12-0, Rs. 5-8-0, and Rs. 11-0-0 as they would be by the above *dirham-i-sharai*.

Precise rules for the manner of collection were laid down. These must have been exceedingly galling to the better class of Hindus, and here, no doubt, is to be found a substantial reason for the exceeding unpopularity of the tax. The person paying (styled, of course, a *zimmi*, in itself a stigma) must appear in person, bare-footed, the collector being seated and the tax-payer standing. The collector, placing his hand upon the *zimmi's* hand, lifted up the money, and pronounced a formula in Arabic, signifying, "I accept the poll-tax from this dependant." Money sent through another person must be refused.

Collection was made from the first class in four, the second class in two, and the third class in one instalment. The tax ceased either on death, or on the acceptance of Islam. If a minor became of full age, a slave was emancipated, or a sick man was restored to health before the date of collection, the tax was levied. If these events happened after that date, the tax was remitted for that year. If a man fell from the class of rich to that of poor men, and the change applied to part of the year only, the rate levied was to be the mean between that of the class he had left and of that he had entered. If a poor tax-payer was ill for half the year he paid nothing. Servants of the Government, with their children living in their house, were altogether exempt. As Khush-hal Chand remarks, [286*a*] the tax-collectors, in spite of these wise orders, were guilty of exactions, and at the beginning of every year levied money, even from widows, under the pretext of expenses.*

SEC. 24.—SUDDEN RISE OF MUHAMMAD MURAD KASHMIRI.

With his usual changeableness, Farrukh-siyar now chose a new favourite, on whose exertions he founded great expectations. This man's rise is usually accounted for in the following way. The Emperor had lately planned to send Muhammad Amin Khan to take the place of Rajah Jai Singh Sawai, as governor of Malwa, with the object of barring, if necessary, Husain Ali Khan's return from the Dakhin to Dihli. Azim-ullah Khan, Nasir-ullah Khan, and other nobles were placed under his orders. As was usually the case, the new

* For a full account of the *jaziya*, see Sarkar's *Aurangzib*, iii. ch. 34.

governor spent a great deal of time in preparation, and showed no great readiness to start. Farrukh-siyar betrayed his impatience at this delay, and Muhammad Murad Khan, then the third *Mir Tuzak* or chamberlain, offered to induce Muhammad Amin Khan to begin his march. The man was loud-voiced and foul-mouthed, as most Kashmiris are reputed to be ; but at first his violent language failed in effect. He returned to the Emperor with bitter complaints, and on his advice, Farrukh-siyar ventured to dismiss Muhammad Amin Khan from his office of second Bakhshi, and appointed instead Islam Khan (son of the late Asaf Khan, son of Mir Abdus-salam Islam Khan, *Wazir* to Shah Jahan), Fidai Khan (son of Salabat Khan deceased), being promoted to Islam Khan's office of first *Mir Tuzak*. Muhammad Murad himself replaced Fidai Khan as second *Mir Tuzak*, with a rise of 500 in rank, making him 3,000 *zat*.* The result of these measures was that Muhammad Amin Khan began his march for Malwa. Farrukh-siyar, himself the most cowardly of men, looked on this feat as heroic, and Muhammad Murad became at once in his eyes the right man for a desperate undertaking. Possibly there is some truth in the above story, as accounting for Muhammad Murad's exaltation, for the time of his rise and of Muhammad Amin Khan's departure coincide almost exactly.†

This Muhammad Murad, already a man of about sixty-two years of age, was a native of Kashmir, of the tribe called Audard.‡ For a time he was in the employment of Mir Malik Husain, Khan Jahan, Kokaltash, the foster brother of Alamgir, and was agent at Court for that noble's son, Sipahdar Khan. Next, he entered the imperial service with a *mansab* of 300, but in a year or two was dismissed. On this he came to Lahor,

* Mirza Muhammad, 338. Kamwar Khan, 174, has these changes on the 30th Muharram 1130 H. (31st December, 1717). For Islam Khan, *Wazir*. d. 1057 H. *M. U.* i. 162, and for his son, Asaf (or Safi) Khan, d. 1105 H., *ibid*, ii. 470. For Fidai Khan, ii. 745.

† Khafi Khan, 787; Kamwar Khan, 174, 25th Zul Hijja, 1129 H. (29th November, 1717); Mirza Muhammad, 337-8; *M. U.* i. 339.

‡ Ibbetson, para. 557, gives the names of ten Kashmiri tribes; the only one approaching Audard is the ninth, *viz.* Warde.

where Mutamad Khan (Mirza Rustam)* was deputy governor for Prince Muhammad Muazzam (afterwards Bahadur Shah), and obtained an introduction through Lala Shiu Das Khatri, the governor's chief man of business. The rank of 500 was obtained for him. Khwaja Muhammad Amin Kashmiri, who had once been also in Khan Jahan Kokaltash's service, having replaced Mutamad Khan at Lahor, Muhammad Murad's fortunes improved, for he was of the same place and race as the new deputy. This happy state of things lasted only for a year or two, until Khwaja Muhammad Amin fell into disgrace, when Muhammad Murad retired to Dihli, where he lived in obscurity. On Munim Khan's appointment, first as *diwan* to Prince Muazzam, Shah Alam, and then as his deputy at Lahor, Muhamad Murad, being an old friend of his, was restored to the service and returned to Lahor, until the two men quarrelled, when he came back to Dihli.†

Not long after this time Alamgir died, and Prince Muazzam, Shah Alam, with Munim Khan in his train, passed through Dihli on his way to Agra ; and Muhammad Murad attached himself to their camp. After the victory of Jajau, Munim Khan obtained for his old friend the rank of 1,000, and the title of Wakalat Khan, with the office of *wakil*, or agent at Court, to Prince Muizz-ud-din Jahandar Shah. Muhammad Murad, being a chatty, talkative man, managed to strike up a great friendship with Ali Murad Kokaltash Khan, on whom all power in Jahandar Shah's household rested, "nay, he was the veritable Jahandar Shah," and by his aid rose to be a *Duhazari* (2,000), with the title of Bahadur. In Jahandar Shah's reign of ten months, he was promoted to 5,000, but obtained no further favours from Kokaltash Khan. On Farrukh-siyar's accession Muhammad Murad attended the Sayyid brothers, with whom he had been formerly acquainted, and through Husain Ali Khan was maintained in the rank that he held in Bahadur Shah's reign (*i.e.*, 2,000 *zat*) ; but his former title

* Mutamad Khan (Rustam) was the father of Mirza Muhammad, the historian.

† Mirza Muhammad, 331; *Ahwal-ul-khawaqin*, 126*a*; *M. U.* i. 337; Kamraj, *Ibratnama*, 63*b*.

having been given to someone else, he was created Muhammad Murad Khan and soon afterwards received the office of fourth *Mir Tuzak*. At this time he was high in the favour of Husain Ali Khan, who procured his promotion to 2,500.

After that noble's departure for the Dakhin, Muhammad Murad used all his endeavours to strengthen his position with the Emperor. As he was in constant attendance, he succeeded at last in joining in the Emperor's conversation, and owing to his chattiness and readiness of speech soon found a way to his heart. He also obtained favour as a compatriot of the Emperor's mother, Sahiba Niswan, who was a Kashmiri, and the first open sign of his new position was that Farrukh-siyar said one day to the great nobles in *darbar*, "You have heard, have you not, Itiqad Khan is related by marriage to my exalted mother?" The Emperor's feeling against the Sayyids was an open secret, but the brothers being on their guard, he had been foiled hitherto in all his attempts against them. As opportunity offered, Muhammad Murad Khan hinted to Farrukh-siyar, in guarded and metaphorical language, that Samsam-ud-daulah Khan Dauran, up to that time his very soul and the confidant of all his secrets, was in collusion with the Sayyids, and thus it was that all his plots against them were divulged. The Emperor's mind was turned against Samsam-ud-daulah, and he determined to bring forward Muhammad Murad Khan. [K. K. 791, Yahya 123*b*.]

On the 19th Safar 1130 H. (19th January, 1718), Muhammad Murad became *darogha* of the *harkaras* or scouts, with the privilege of admission at all times to the privy audience-chamber, the chapel and secret audience room. Having now private access to the sovereign's ear, he repeated plainly, with details, what he had formerly suggested by hints and signs. He produced many projects for the overthrow of the two Sayyids and offered himself to carry them into execution. Since Farrukh-siyar looked with apprehension upon everything, Muhammad Murad boldly counselled him to take heart and not to be afraid. "Such fears," he said, "amount to a defect: you are Emperor: no one has the strength to oppose you: you

should free your heart of dread, and issue whatever orders you may please." [Kamwar 175, M. M. 337.]

Another hunting expedition was planned. The Emperor moved to the mansion at Khizrabad* on the 29th Zul Hijja (3rd Dec., 1717) and remained there for two or three weeks. It was the common talk of the town that Qutb-ul-mulk would be seized, a task which the Emperor's advisers had persuaded him could be easily accomplished. Qutb-ul-mulk, too, left his house with a large force of men, and camped outside the town near Kilukahri,† by this move allaying the rumours and causing the conspirators to stay their hand. At night the Emperor sent him trays of fruit and food. Next day (23rd Dec., 1717), advance-tents were moved towards Palam. Muhammad Murad increased in favour. The following march (27th Muharram, 1130, 30th Dec., 1717) was to Masjid-i-moth. Here the new appointments were made, by which Muhammad Murad was advanced to second *Mir Tuzak*. On the second Safar (4th Jan., 1718) they reached Palam, on the 17th they moved to Sadipur, and on the 29th back to Agharabad near the city. Nothing had been effected.‡

* Khizrabad is on the Jamuna bank, about five miles south of the Dihli Gate of Shahjahanabad, see Carr Stephen, map, page 1. *Asar-us-sanadid* chap. III, p. 25, says it was a town built on the river bank by Khizr Khan in 816 H. (1413 A. D.). There is no trace now of any fort; possibly the site of it was that now known as Khizrabad village.

† Kilukahri is probably the site of the palace built on the Jamuna bank by Muizz-ud-din Kaikobad, (1286-1288), H. M. Elliot, *Bibliographical Index*, 284, and *Ain* ii. 279. The *Ain* says that Humayun's tomb is on this site, but the village itself is about 1½ miles s. e. of the tomb.

‡ Kamwar Khan, 179. Palam is in the Dihli district, 11 miles s. w. of the city: it lies about 10 miles w. of Mothki masjid. (*Indian Atlas*, sheet 49 n. e.) Masjid-i-moth, C. Stephen, plate opposite p. 1, is 5½ miles s. w. of the Dihli Gate of the city, *ibid*, 166, and was built in 894 H. (1488). The tradition is that a man picked up a grain of *moth*, sowed it, and in time built this mosque from the produce. Sadipur, not traced; there is a Madipur on sheet 49 n. e. of the *Indian Atlas*. This lies halfway between Palam and Badli (Agharabad). I can find no Sadipur in that direction; but there is a Sadipur near the Idgah, west of the city, see Constable's *Hand Atlas*, plate 47. Agharabad is n. of the city and the same as Shalimar close to Sarai Badli. Mirza Muhammad, 331, says the camp

Instead of returning to the palace the Emperor moved out from Agharabad to Siuli,* on the 1st Rabi II. 1130 H. (3rd March, 1718); and a few days afterwards Muhammad Murad was created Itiqad Khan Bahadur Farrukh-Shahi, received a standard, kettle-drums, two elephants and several horses, with the rank of 5,000 (2,000 horse), and replaced Amir Khan as superintendent of the pages (*khawas*), with the right to come and go at all hours of the day or night. His influence increased in a marked degree every day. As one writer says, [Yahya 124*a*], he was promoted daily; on one day to 5,000, the next to 6,000, and the next to 7,000. On the 16th Rabi II. (18th March), they came back to Agharabad, and on the 22nd, Muhammad Murad was made *daroghа* of the mace-bearers. Whole nights were spent by Farrukh-siyar in conclave with Muhammad Murad and other favourites; sometimes he did not retire to rest until break of day. As Muhammad Murad had a bad reputation and was pointed at for secret vices, this constant companionship gave rise to undesirable reports, defamatory of a descendant of Taimur and derogatory to the lustre of his rule. On the 21st Rabi II. a mansion in Dihli was given to Muhammad Murad. Finally, on the 12th Jamadi I. 1130 H. (12th April, 1718), the Emperor left Agharabad and re-entered the palace.

Presents continued to be showered lavishly on Muhammad Murad. On the 9th Jamadi II. (9th May, 1718), he was raised to 6,000 (5,000 horse), various gifts were added, and he was appointed *faujdar* of Jammu, with power to appoint a deputy. His son and two of his officers were given *mansabs* of 1,000. Twenty days afterwards he was again promoted, becoming 7,000 (7,000 horse), received a valuable fringed litter (*palki*) and other gifts, with the office of *nazir*, or governor of the imperial harem. On the 2nd Rajab (21st May, 1718) a gold bedstead, covered with gold plates and studded with jewels, which had belonged to the Emperor Jahangir, was given to the favourite. In fact, not a night passed without his receiving silver and gold

was for three months from Jan. 1718 at Sarai Badli, which was close to Agharabad and the Shalimar garden.

* Siuli, just s. or e. of Panipat.

coin, valuable jewels or rich clothes. The best *jagirs* in the Gujarat, Dihli, and Agra provinces were also allotted to him. In the course of one year and some months he had become the owner of one hundred elephants, with everything else in proportion. He also realized much money by force, but most of it passed from him into the hands of young men of evil reputation in the city, who in a very short time had collected round him to the number of three or four thousand. As the saying is, "Soon got is soon spent." [Kamwar 176-179, Shiu Das 16*b*, *Ahwal* 126.]

Farrukh-siyar's reckless mode of enriching Muhammad Murad is shown by one anecdote. One day he spoke to the Emperor about a ring. Orders were at once given to bring a valuable ring from the imperial jewel-house ; and ten or twelve trays, full of rings, were brought. Farrukh-siyar said to Muhammad Murad: "Hold out your skirt." He did so. Then Farrukh-siyar several times took up double handfuls of rings, and emptied them into his skirt. Qutb-ul-mulk and others present remonstrated but without effect. [Shiu Das, 16.]

SEC. 25.—SARBULAND KHAN RECALLED TO COURT.

About this time (April 1718) the settlement with Churaman Jat had been forced through by Qutb-ul-mulk, quite against the wishes of Farrukh-siyar himself. From this cause the smouldering quarrel again broke into activity. More especially was this noticeable after the arrival of Rajah Jai Singh, who asserted that in another month Churaman, who was very hard-pressed, would have been utterly defeated ; that Qutb-ul-mulk had been so strenuous in pressing the Jat's application, only owing to his desire to prevent the Rajah's success. As Farrukh-siyar fully believed that the two Sayyids were working for his destruction, this complaint added fuel to the flames. Contemporaries concur in asserting that, although Muhammad Murad had liberality (*sakhawat*) and kindliness (*maruvvat*), he had not the talent (*hausla*) required in a *Wazir*, or even in a great noble. Nor was he valorous. He was even less so than Mir Jumla ; though, all the while, Farrukh-siyar believed that

in him he had won a splendid piece to play in his game against Qutb-ul-mulk.* But Muhammad Murad himself felt that he was not the man to enter upon an open contest with the Sayyids. He therefore cast about for somebody more fitted to undertake the enterprize with some hope of success. His first selection was Sarbuland Khan, who had a reputation for wisdom and courage, and though just removed from the governorship of Bihar, was still at the head of a large army. On the favourite's advice, Sarbuland Khan was summoned to Court, where he arrived on the 10th Shaban 1130 H. (8th July, 1718), Muhammad Murad going out to meet him. His troops were paraded before the Emperor on the 21st of that month.†

Sarbuland Khan had come to Court with the anticipation that when the Sayyids had been successfully dealt with, he would receive as his reward the exalted office of *Wazir*. Full of zeal, he had started with seven to eight thousand well-armed horsemen and some artillery. As this force approached, it was the common belief that at last the Sayyids were to be effectually crushed, that at last the Emperor had come to a firm determination, having set up in Sarbuland Khan a sagacious and energetic rival fit to cope with them ; that when Qutb-ul-mulk had been got rid of at Court, to dispose of Husain Ali Khan would be a comparatively easy matter. Sarbuland Khan was promoted to 7,000 (6,000 horse), with the titles of Mubariz-ul-mulk, Sarbuland Khan, Namwar Jang,‡ and by promises of further reward he was induced to undertake the business.

Qutb-ul-mulk had long been on his guard ; he now redoubled his precautions. He never moved to *darbar* without being escorted by three or four thousand horsemen. It was not long before, by chance, it came to Sarbuland Khan's knowledge that, even if he carried the attempt to a successful issue, he might be rewarded liberally, but the office of *Wazir* was intended for another. He resolved to obtain confirmation of

* Yahya Khan 124*b*, *Ahwal-ul-khawaqin* 126*b*.

† For the secret letter sent to Sarbuland Khan by Amin-ud-din Khan with a *shuqqa* from the Emperor, see *Dastur-ul-insha*, p. 29. Mirza Muhammad, 379, copy of *farman* in Shiu Das 19*a*, Kamwar Khan 179-180.

‡ *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* (1154 H.) has Dilawar Jang instead of Namwar.

this from the Emperor's own lips, although to do so demanded great care in the way the question was put. Accordingly he framed it in the following way: "As Your Majesty has decided on the disgrace of these two brothers, you must have in your mind someone capable of bearing the burden of chief minister, an office of supreme importance." The simple-minded Emperor replied: "For this post I have Itiqad Khan (*i.e.*, Muhammad Murad) in my mind ; and to speak the truth, there is no one better than him for it." Sarbuland Khan, who in his hope of the wazirship had been hitherto hot as flame, now grew cold as ice. The position suggests to the author of the *Masir-ul-umara* the verse, "I am in love, and the loved one desires another ; Like the first of Shawwal called the Feast of Ramzan." Qutb-ul-mulk had already warned Sarbuland Khan that he and his brother meant the contest to be one for death or life, that they meant to stake their heads on the cast of the dice. From that day Sarbuland Khan drew back. Although in appearance he continued to act and talk as before, in his heart he resolved to do nothing further. Finally he was appointed to Agra on the 19th Shawwal (14th September, 1718), but on the 1st Muharram 1131 H. (23rd November, 1718) he resigned office and returned from Faridabad, having gone no further than that place on his way to his new Government.*

SEC. 26.—ATTEMPT TO SEIZE QUTB-UL-MULK.

The next phase in the struggle was a project to seize Qutb-ul-mulk in the Idgah on the day of the Id (1st Shawwal, 1130 H., 27th August, 1718). It was argued that the Emperor's party would be there in force, to the number of seventy or eighty thousand men, ready to sacrifice their lives, while Qutb-ul-mulk would have round him none but a few relations and followers. They could fall upon him and cut off his head before he could cry out. But spies had warned Qutb-ul-mulk of this plot, and he redoubled his precautions. The night before the Id, while one watch of the night still remained, Sayyid Khan Jahan, the minister's maternal uncle, repaired with his sons and his

* Shiu Das, *fol.* 19*a* and *b*; Khafi Khan, ii. 792. Faridabad, 16 miles s. of city, *Indian Atlas*, sheet 49, s. e.

soldiers to the Idgah, and occupied it. Before daybreak Qutb-ul-mulk's men reached the spot, and they sufficed to fill the whole of the space. In the morning, when the Emperor's people arrived and saw what had been done, they drew in their claws and made no attempt at violence. Nawab Qutb-ul-mulk reached the Idgah before His Majesty and at the head of his followers came out to make his bow. Farrukh-siyar saw it was useless to attempt anything, and much dejected left directly the prayers were over.*

SEC. 27.—MAHARAJAH AJIT SINGH IS SENT FOR.

Sarbuland Khan's defection did not trouble Farrukh-siyar very much ; his hopes now centred in his father-in-law, Maharajah Ajit Singh, for whom he had sent through Nahar Khan, the only person believed to have sufficient influence over the Rajah to secure his adhesion. Nahar Khan is the man whose good offices the Rajah had employed to secure terms from Sayyid Husain Ali Khan four years before. But Nahar Khan was an intimate friend of the two Sayyids, and his first efforts were directed to bringing over Ajit Singh to their side, and detaching him from that of Farrukh-siyar. In this he was fully successful. The Rajah started from Jodhpur for Dihli, and the Emperor was overjoyed at the prospect of his arrival. These hopes were, however, doomed to disappointment, for Ajit Singh had not the least intention of taking that side ; on the contrary, his mind was fully made up to espouse the cause of the Sayyids. [M. M. 383.]

On the 4th Shawwal 1130 H. (30th August, 1718), when Rajah Ajit Singh's arrival near Bagh Malhan Shah was reported, Itiqad Khan (Muhammad Murad) was sent with the present of a dagger, and Samsam-ud-daulah was deputed as an escort.

* Mirza Muhammad, 384; Khafi Khan, ii. 792. Mirza Muhammad (385), who was there, says that even after the Emperor, with many nobles and a number of spectators had left, there were still so many of Qutb-ul-mulk's men present, that you could not tell that any one had gone away. As a consequence of this attempt, Qutb-ul-mulk enlisted twenty thousand new men, and, contrary to his previous practice accepted the services of men who were not Barha Sayyids.

These men were commissioned to impress on the Rajah the high favour in which he stood with His Majesty, and by persuasive talk induce him to present himself in audience without the intervention of Qutb-ul-mulk. Itiqad Khan, after delivering the gifts with which he had been entrusted, told the Rajah that he was too great a man to need another person to introduce him, he should present himself in audience the next day, and he would be received. He could then lay his own representations before the throne. In reply the Rajah, after using many similar flattering professions, announced his intention of obtaining audience through Qutb-ul-mulk. In vain Itiqad Khan displayed all his eloquence, he could not turn the Rajah from his purpose. It is said that this was the result of Qutb-ul-mulk's advice, conveyed through Nahar Khan and others. They had frightened the Rajah into the belief that Farrukh-siyar's word could not be relied upon. By what vows and oaths, they said, had he not bound himself in the case of Asad Khan and his son, only to lure them into the net! The Sayyids, they added, are the only men who can stand up against such a sovereign, or whose support is of any value. [M. M. 386, Kamwar 180.]

When his emissaries returned and reported their ill-success, Farrukh-siyar flew into a passion. But unable to help himself, he sent a message to Qutb-ul-mulk that the next day was appointed for the reception of Rajah Ajit Singh, and that he, too, should present himself at *darbar*. The Rajah had written that unless the minister attended he would not come.

The next day, the 5th Shawwal (31st August, 1718), Itiqad Khan and Samsam-ud-daulah set out once more, and brought the Rajah to the audience-hall. Qutb-ul-mulk was present. On reaching the outer gate, Rajah Ajit Singh declined to advance further until he was certain of the presence of the *Wazir*. It was only after repeated assurances that he consented to enter the palace. When he reached the door of the *Diwan-i-am* he halted, and said that until Qutb-ul-mulk came to him there, he would not advance another step. Samsam-ud-daulah convinced him that Qutb-ul-mulk would come, but the spot fixed for him to appear was further on. They moved on to the door of the *Diwan-i-khas*. Again the Rajah halted.

Here Qutb-ul-mulk appeared and the two men greeted each other most effusively. The Nawab then took the Rajah by the hand and conducted him to the presence. Farrukh-siyar, though far from pleased with his conduct, appeared hypocritically gracious and conferred the usual *khilat* and other presents.

For twenty days neither the *Wazir* nor the Rajah reappeared at *darbar*. In this interval the Rajah visited Qutb-ul-mulk only once or twice, and the Nawab went once to him. But secret agents were constantly passing to and fro between them, and these men used every effort to strengthen the alliance. As the differences between the Emperor and his minister had now become public, Farrukh-siyar, instigated by Itiqad Khan, took what measures he could to win the day. On his side, too, Qutb-ul-mulk drew aside the veil, and refused to appear in audience. As soon as he found that the Nawab and the Rajah were one, Farrukh-siyar returned to the idea of a reconciliation. For several days in succession Itiqad Khan (Muhammad Murad) visited them with proposals for peace and concord. It leaked out, however, that Qutb-ul-mulk placed no reliance on Itiqad Khan's word, holding him to be a stirrer-up of strife. The negotiations were therefore transferred to Afzal Khan, the *Sadar-us-sadur*, but with equal want of good result. Sarbuland Khan and Samsam-ud-daulah's services were next enlisted (22nd Shawwal, 17th September 1718), although they were suspected of infidelity to the Emperor. But the final destruction of Qutb-ul-mulk was as firmly resolved on as ever. The command of the artillery, of which the assistance would be absolutely necessary, was in the hands of Sayyid Salabat Khan, a man well affected to Samsam-ud-daulah, whose loyalty was now doubted. This command was taken away, and given on the 22nd Shawwal (17th September, 1718) to Ghazi-ud-din Khan Ghalib Jang, who could be relied on as having no sort of connection with the Sayyids or Samsam-ud-daulah ; nay, he might be accounted their enemy, for owing to the scanty favour that they had shown him, he was living in poverty, in spite of his *mansab* of 7,000 *zat*. [M. M. 390, Kamwar 181.]

After Sarbuland Khan and Samsam-ud-daulah had been entrusted with the task of assuaging the anger of Qutb-ul-mulk,

they succeeded by smooth speeches and plausible arguments in bringing him, to some extent, into a more reasonable frame of mind. He agreed to appear once more in *darbar*. It was faithfully promised that there should never again be anything to disturb his mind, or arouse differences of opinion. Rajah Ajit Singh having also absented himself, the *Wazir* advised that he also should be conciliated, and that they should be brought to *darbar* together. This was accordingly done and the Rajah propitiated. On the 26th Shawwal, 1130 H. (21st September, 1718), Rajah Ajit Singh repaired to the *Wazir's* house. Sarbuland Khan and Samsam-ud-daulah came on behalf of His Majesty, and requested that the two nobles might mount and set out. The two envoys, mounted on one elephant, preceded them to the palace. Qutb-ul-mulk and Rajah Ajit Singh followed, riding upon one elephant. Speeches full of apparent peace and goodwill were interchanged, outwardly all cause of quarrel between the parties had been removed, and at the *Wazir's* request the country of Bikaner was conferred upon the Rajah. But acute observers likened the situation to the well-known description of an hour-glass:

"They are joined together like an hour-glass,
Hearts full of dust and faces all clear." [Shiu Das 19*a*.]

SEC. 28.—NIZAM-UL-MULK IS SUMMONED.

Samsam-ud-daulah was suspected of treachery, Itiqad Khan's talk came to nothing, Sarbuland Khan had become lukewarm, Ajit Singh, false to his salt, had gone over to Qutb-ul-mulk! Who was there left? Farrukh-siyar thought now of Nizam-ul-mulk, then *faujdar* of Muradabad, and sent a *farman* recalling him to Court, in the hope that from him deliverance might come. Nizam-ul-mulk crossed the Jamuna towards the end of Shawwal and camped near Khizrabad. Nawab Sadat Khan, father-in-law of the Emperor, went out to meet him (29th Shawwal 1130 H., 24th September, 1718) and escorted him to the presence. Farrukh-siyar now made overtures to Nizam-ul-mulk. But at the same time, as he was greatly afraid of the Sayyids, he bound the Nawab to disclose nothing, until one of the men devoted to his cause had removed Qutb-ul-

mulk out of their way. Nizam-ul-mulk saw plainly enough that on these conditions the enterprize was hopeless, and therefore amused the Emperor with procrastinating words, without committing himself. Day after day passed until Farrukh-siyar despaired of assistance in this direction. A few months afterwards (16th Safar 1131 H., 7th January, 1719), Farrukh-siyar, in his heedless, short-sighted way, finally alienated Nizam-ul-mulk by removing him from his appointment in *Chakla* Muradabad, which was then erected into a *subah* and conferred on the favourite Itiqad Khan (Muhammad Murad). [Shiu Das 18*b*, M. M. 401.]

SEC. 29.—MIR JUMLA'S SECOND RETURN TO DIHLI.

We have already told how in 1128 H. (March, 1716) Mir Jumla was exiled first to Sarhind and then to Lahor. He had never abandoned hope of a return to Court, but Farrukh-siyar was too frightened of the Sayyids to accord his consent. At length, the Emperor, having screwed up his courage to the sticking place, recalled Mir Jumla. As soon as Qutb-ul-mulk learnt this, he sent to ask Farrukh-siyar why, if there was no quarrel left between them, he should have sent for Mir Jumla. Frightened at this remonstrance, Farrukh-siyar cancelled his first order. But Mir Jumla, directly he had received the *farman*, had started on his return, and paying no attention whatever to the second order, hurried on by forced marches. Knowing what anger would be aroused in Qutb-ul-mulk's breast by Mir Jumla's arrival, Farrukh-siyar despatched Shahbaz Khan *Qul* [slave] to turn him back wherever he might be found. Even this measure was powerless to arrest his course. However, as Mir Jumla perceived that, out of fear of the Wazir, Farrukh-siyar would decline to see him, he decided to give himself out as an adherent of the Sayyids. Accordingly he went straight to Qutb-ul-mulk's house, 5th Zul Qada (29th September, 1718). Farrukh-siyar, overpowered by anger, took away Mir Jumla's rank and gave orders to resume the mansion, known as Asad Khan's, which had been granted him, and conferred it upon Samsam-ud-daulah. Energetic men were sent with orders to remove him from the house of Qutb-ul-mulk to that

of the late Fidai Khan. Qutb-ul mulk was much enraged at this action, and the ill-will which had been hidden under a pretended reconciliation, was now again shown openly. The Wazir wrote (5th Zul Qada, 29th September, 1718) to his brother, Husain Ali Khan, requesting him to leave the Dakhin at once and return to Dihli. In his letter, after referring to the enemies who had obtained the ear of His Majesty, he recounts the story of Jai Singh Sawai's campaign against Chura Jat, and the quarrel arising from its termination, his fear of assassination, and his measures to collect additional troops. There is no doubt that Qutb-ul-mulk's fears for his personal safety were not unfounded. For instance, on the 29th Shawwal (24th September, 1718), when he was seated in the office of the *diwan* engaged in signing documents, spies brought him word that an outbreak was planned, whereupon he called hurriedly for a *palki*, and was carried home.*

One of the strange occurrences of this time, one remaining quite unexplained, was the sudden appearance in the imperial audience-hall, on the 11th Shawwal (6th September, 1718), of a man who took his seat on the marble platform, the place where the *khawas* or pages stand, and made three *salams* or reverences, with his sword. When told by the carpet-spreaders and guards to desist, he drew his sword and attacked them, whereupon one of the guards dispatched him with his dagger. No one knew who he was or what his object had been. His body was made over to the *kotwal*. [Kamwar 181.]

When Farrukh-siyar heard that Husain Ali Khan had been written to, he sent off Samsam-ud-daulah to allay the Wazir's apprehensions. On the 6th Zul Qada (30th September, 1718) he went out hunting, and on his way home sent a message that he was about to honour Qutb-ul-mulk with a visit. It so happened that Rajah Ajit Singh had been told of a plot made by Farrukh-siyar to seize him, when he, as in duty bound, should come out to the door of his house, to make obeisance at the time of the Emperor's passing by. This may have had

---

* Kamwar Khan, 182; Mirza Muhammad, 404, is a little different. Mirza Muhammad, 385; Shiu Das, 17*b* (copy of letter to Husain Ali Khan.)

no other foundation than in the Rajah's evil conscience, for, as Khafi Khan says, it is a proverb that: "The faithless are full of fear." In any case the fact remains that Ajit Singh sought that day a refuge with Qutb-ul-mulk. As soon as the Emperor heard of the Rajah's presence, he countermanded his orders, and sent Sayyid Najm-ud-din Ali Khan to say, that if that base-born pig had not been at the Wazir's house, he would have paid him a visit. On the arrival of the boat (*nawara*)* opposite the Wazir's house, the Emperor directed the boatmen to increase their speed, in spite of the fact that the imperial equipage was drawn up, and the Wazir waiting on the river bank to receive him. Thus this occasion for untying the knot was lost, and the Emperor turned again to Samsam-ud-daulah for advice. That noble repaired to Qutb-ul-mulk's on the 9th Zul Qada (3rd October, 1718) and conferred with him. At this time, by reason of the rise of Itiqad Khan (Muhammad Murad), Samsam-ud-daulah had fallen out of favour with Farrukh-siyar, and was even suspected by him of treachery. Being aware of this change of feeling, he was now far from well-affected to the Emperor, had improved his relations with Qutb-ul-mulk, and had inspired that noble with full confidence in his friendship. Listening to his advice, Qutb-ul-mulk presented himself in *darbar*, made his obeisance, and, to all appearance, the quarrel was again made up, after the usual false speeches had been exchanged.†

The story goes that Samsam-ud-daulah had planned with Farrukh-siyar the arrest of Qutb-ul-mulk. The Emperor was to take his seat in the *tasbih-khana*, or chapel, round which the armed attendants were to be secretly collected. When the moment came, the signal was to be given by the cry of "*Qul!*"

---

* *Nawara*, these boats were fashioned into fanciful shapes such as wild animals, etc. They were roofed in at one end, which was covered with broad cloth; they were better finished and lighter than a common boat (*kishti*). The boatmen were mostly from Kashmir and used Kashmiri calls to each other when working. Anand Ram, (Mukhlis) *Mirat-ul-istilah*, *fol.* 166*b*, B. M. Oriental, No. 1813 (Elliot MSS.). Anand Ram quotes Babar as to the convenience of boat travelling.

† Khafi Khan, 803, 804; Kamwar Khan, 182; Mirza Muhammad, 405.

and, rushing in, the slaves were to seize the Wazir and hurry him off to prison. Qutb-ul-mulk having entered with a small following, Farrukh-siyar, when the time came, called out as agreed on, "*Qul!*" From some motive, either of prudence or friendship, Samsam-ud-daulah, instead of repeating the signal, changed the word, and shouted "*Qur!*" (armed retinue), the word used to signify that all those waiting for audience should be admitted. This slight change of one letter disarranged the whole plan. The slaves never stirred. But a large number of Qutb-ul-mulk's armed retinue at once appeared in the audience-chamber, and Farrukh-siyar was much disturbed at seeing this crowd. As soon as the minister had left, he vented his rage on Samsam-ud-daulah. In his access of passion he threw at his favourite the seal, the box for holding the ink used with it, and, as some add, a metal spittoon. After this catastrophe Samsam-ud-daulah absented himself for several days, nor did he return until Farrukh-siyar had written him a friendly note in his own hand, asking him to attend Court as usual. [Khush-hal.]

After a few days the Emperor went out again on a hunting expedition, accompanied by many officers and State officials: and, as usual, the rumour spread that on this occasion, when Qutb-ul-mulk appeared to make his obeisance, hands would be laid upon him. Qutb-ul-mulk, receiving a hint from Samsam-ud-daulah, came surrounded by men; when he dismounted at the entrance, five hundred fully-armed soldiers dismounted with him. In spite of all that the chamberlain (*Mir Tuzak*) and attendants (*yasawal*) could say, the whole of these men followed into the audience tent. Farrukh-siyar was greatly perturbed at the sight, and it was with much constraint that he was able to utter a few words of compliment before he dismissed the visitor.* Further attempts to heal the breach were made. On the 20th Zul Qada (14th October, 1718) Zafar Khan, the fourth Bakhshi, took Itiqad Khan to Qutb-ul-mulk's house, when the favourite and the Wazir interchanged presents, and

* Mirza Muhammad, 405; Khush-hal Chand, 411*a*; Shiu Das 17*a*; Yahya Khan 123*b*; Kamraj, *Ibratnama*, 56*a*; Kamwar Khan, 183.

three days afterwards, Samsam-ud-daulah visited Itiqad Khan. About this time Farrukh-siyar, always of a suspicious nature, came to the conclusion that his foster-mother, who held an honoured position in the harem, and Itimad Khan, a eunuch, had betrayed his secret projects to the Sayyids. [Kamwar 183.]

SECTION 30—MIR JUMLA PARDONED.

After waiting for more than a month, Mir Jumla was at last admitted to audience on the 7th Zul Hijja (31st October, 1718) under the auspices of Nizam-ul-mulk. He received the addition of "*Tarkhan*" to his former titles.* Three days afterwards, it being the day of the Id, the Emperor proceeded to the Idgah for the usual observances, but by his express order Qutb-ul-mulk did not attend. The reason for this prohibition was that Farrukh-siyar recollected and resented the failure of his plans on the day of the former Id at the end of Ramzan. On the 12th (5th November, 1718) Itiqad Khan paid Mir Jumla a visit at his house, and the next day, by the Emperor's order, he invited Mir Jumla to a banquet in return. All this intercourse was encouraged by Farrukh-siyar in the hope that the chief nobles would join with him heart and soul in the destruction of Qutb-ul-mulk. But all was without avail. The bringing forward of Itiqad Khan had estranged many who were otherwise well affected to the Emperor's person, and had caused them to enter into terms with Qutb-ul-mulk. By expatiating on the Wazir's Sayyid lineage, on his claims for service done, and on his bravery in the field, they found reasons for holding that right was on his side. Itiqad Khan's sudden rise, which was without apparent justification, rankled like a thorn in their hearts. Farrukh-siyar paid no heed to this discontent, but continued to support Itiqad Khan, whose counsels he received as equivalent to a revelation from on high, nor could he bear the man to be away from him for a moment. At the annual rejoicing for the defeat of Jahandar Shah, 15th Zul Hijja 1130 H. (8th November, 1718), Qutb-ul-mulk did not attend. [Kamwar 184, M. M. 410.]

---

* For the meaning and attributes of this distinction, see Blochmann. *Ain*, i. 364, and *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, Ross and Elias, p. 55, note.

SECTION 31.—HUSAIN ALI KHAN'S START FROM THE DAKHIN.

On the 1st Muharram 1131 H. (23rd November, 1718) an official report reached the Court that in the previous month Husain Ali Khan had started from Aurangabad. On the 22nd Muharram?(14th December, 1718) he left Burhanpur, and Ujjain on the 4th Safar (26th December, 1718), continuing his route *via* Mandeshwar.* Before this time he had put forward a pretext that the Dakhin climate did not agree with him, and had asked to be recalled. Farrukh-siyar said he might try a change to Ahmadabad, and if he did not recover, he might then return to Hindustan. About this time Husain Ali Khan also reported that Muin-ud-din,† a reputed son of Prince Akbar, the rebel son of Alamgir, had been captured by Rajah Sahu, the Mahratta, and made over to him, on the condition that he obtained the release of the Rajah's mother and brother, who had been prisoners since the year 1101 H. (15th Muharram 1101 H., 28th October, 1689) and were still at Dihli. Farrukh-siyar ordered the Bakhshi to send the pretended Prince to Dihli.‡

Compliance with this order did not fall in with Husain Ali Khan's plans; for his brother's, Qutb-ul-mulk's, letter had already warned him that his presence was necessary at Court. He had already made up his mind to return to Hindustan, and the fiction of having found a son of Prince Akbar was only part of this design, and in fact a mere excuse. He had given out in open *darbar* that he expected the arrival from Satara of a Prince, Muin-ud-din Husain, son of Prince Akbar. When Prince Akbar, after rebelling against the Emperor Alamgir, left India for Isfahan, this son had been, it was said, left behind. Equipage suitable for a Prince of the Gurgani family was prepared; scarlet tents, a throne, and a crown were made ready. The Mir Bakhshi at the same time announced that he

* Mandeshwar, Thornton, 645, now in Sindhia's dominions, Lat. 24°1′, Long. 75° 9′.

† *Ahwal-ul-khawaqin*, 1b, 127a, refers to the pretended Prince as Jawan Bakht, who had come to the Karnatak from Iran when Prince Akbar died. Yahya Khan, 124a, says he was called a son of Kam Bakhsh.

‡ Kamwar Khan; Shiu Das, 20a; Khafi Khan, 793, 795.

was about to pay a visit to Hindustan. The youth selected for the rôle of royal pretender was the son of a Qazi in one of the Dakhin towns, good looking, talented, and with some external resemblance to the Princes of the royal house. Muazzam Khan, a *jamadar*, was deputed to bring to camp the so-called Prince. The news-writers and intelligencers asked for instructions as to what entry they should make. The Nawab replied that he would in a short time make a report, and himself write detailed letters to Court. Next day the tents were pitched outside the city ; more soldiers were enlisted and a month's pay given to them in advance. Terms were come to with Rajah Sahu, and payment to him of the *chauth*, or one-fourth of the revenues of the Dakhin, was agreed to. Husain Ali Khan also obtained the services of Mahrattas at the daily rate of one Rupee for each man, to be paid from the time of crossing the Narmada until their return home. After three or four days, Muin-ud-din Husain was placed on an elephant in a high-sided canopy, with a white cloth over it to keep out the dust. Red and white tents were erected, a deep ditch was dug all round his camp, sentinels were set, and all the externals of royalty were assigned to him. To keep up appearances, Husain Ali Khan went daily to have a *mujra* or ceremonious interview with his prisoner, such as would be necessary in the case of a real Prince. [Kâmraj 64*b*.]

Finally on the 15th Shawwal (10th September, 1718) Husain Ali Khan appointed his brother, Saif-ud-din Ali Khan, to the command of a vanguard of 4,000 to 5,000 men, and sent him towards Burhanpur to collect artillery and other stores. Alim Ali Khan,* his nephew and adopted son, was named as his representative during his absence. Saif-ud-din Ali Khan temporarily replaced Jan Nisar Khan as governor of Khandesh,

* Alim Ali Khan had been adopted when an infant, (Kamraj, *Ibrat-nama*, 64*b*). The *farman* of appointment can be seen in *Majma-ul-insha* (litho.) p. 84. It includes the 6 *subahs* of the Dakhin with the faujdarship of the Karnatak and of Bijapur, and the collectorship (*tahsildari*) of the tribute (*peshkash*) due from the zamindars of Sondha and Bidnur. Mubariz Khan, Diler Khan, and the other governors were placed under him, and letters notifying this fact were transmitted to them through him.

and Sadat Khan, an old officer now blind of both eyes, was sent as commandant of the fort at Ahmadnagar. Alim Ali Khan was put under the tutelage of Shankara Malhar, a trusted agent of Rajah Sahu. About November, 1718, Husain Ali Khan started himself,* accompanied by Sayyid Asadullah (Nawab Auliya), the sons of Jan Nisar Khan Iwaz Khan, deputy governor of Berar, Asad Ali Khan, the one-handed, the Ali Murad Khani, Dil Diler Khan (brother of Lutfullah Khan Sadiq), Ikhtisas Khan (grandson of Khan Zaman), Haji Saif-ullah Khan, Zia-ud-din Khan, *diwan* of the Dakhin, Firuz Ali Khan Barha, the *Amir-ul-umara's* Bakhshi, Diyanat Khan (grandson of Amanat Khan Khafi), Rajah Jai Singh Bundela, Rajah Muhkam Singh, one of the chief employés, and Khizr Khan Panni (sister's son of Daud Khan Panni).† In all there were twenty-two imperial commanders, many of whom followed unwillingly. There were 8,000 or 9,000 of his own troops and 11,000 or 12,000 Mahrattas, besides Bhils and Telingas. He carried with him nearly all the civil establishments of the Dakhin, and any one who made excuses and turned back was punished by the loss of his *jagir*. The total force was 25,000 horsemen, besides the artillery, and 10,000 to 11,000 infantry armed with matchlocks. At the head of the Mahrattas were Balaji Wiswanath, the Peshwa, Khandu Rao Dhabariya, Santa,‡ and some others. These leaders received horses and elephants, robes of honour, and money for expenses, with many promises of future reward in addition to the release of

---

* Khafi Khan, the historian, was himself present in Husain Ali Khan's army, p. 798. He had just been removed from the *faujdari* of Mustafabad.

† Muhammad Qasim Lahori, 225. Ikhtisas Khan, eldest son of Munavvar Khan Qutbi, son of Munavvar Khan, son of Khan Zaman, *Masir-ul-umara*, iii. 655, Zia-ud-din Khan, *diwan* of the Dakhin, see *Masir-ul-umara*, iii. 36, and Khafi Khan, ii. 790, Diyanat Khan, grandson of Amanat Khan, *Masir-ul-umara*, i. 258. Diyanat Khan, No. 2, *id.* ii. 62, Rajah Muhkam Singh (Khatri), *Masir-ul-umara*, ii. 330, died Jamadi II. 1137 H., *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*. For the Pannis, see *Masir-ul-umara*, ii. 63. Instead of "Jai Singh" the *Siyar* has "Partit Singh."

‡ Or Khandi. This man was Rajah Sahu's so-called *subahdar* in Khandesh, (Khafi Khan, ii. 798). An abstract of his career runs thus (Grant Duff, 162, 163, 196, 209): he was present at the council held after the death

Rajah Sambha's wife and son. These promises included ratification of the treaty for a grant of the *chauth*, or one-fourth share in the revenues of the Dakhin, a grant of the *sardesmukhi* or ten per cent. on the collections, and a confirmation of the hereditary Mahratta territory, or *swa-raj*. Each Mahratta trooper was to receive from the viceroy's treasure-chest half a Rupee, or, as some say, a Rupee a day. A number of zamindars and their levies also joined. The most disturbing rumours as to the fate of Qutb-ul-mulk, passed from mouth to mouth throughout Aurangabad. [K. K. 794—803.]

Consternation was produced in Farrukh-siyar's mind by the news of Husain Ali Khan's approach. Ikhlas Khan, who was supposed to have great influence with the Sayyid, was sent off at once to intercept him and persuade him to return.* Early in Safar 1131 H. (end of December, 1718) this envoy came up with Husain Ali Khan in the neighbourhood of Mandu in *subah* Malwa. Instead of loyally executing his trust, Ikhlas Khan employed his secret interviews with the *Mir Bakhshi* in filling his mind with stories of the peril of his brother's position, of the threatening assemblage of great nobles at Dihli, and of the overpowering influence acquired by Itiqad Khan (Muhammad Murad). Instead of being appeased, Husain Ali Khan was made only more eager than before to reach Dihli. At first, some danger was apprehended from the attitude assumed by Muhammad Amin Khan Chin, governor of Malwa, then encamped near Ujjain. Nasir-ud-din Khan Irani, superintendent of the viceroy's stables, had been sent off to interview Muhammad Amin Khan and discover his intentions, when

---

of Sambhaji (1689); and took a part in the flight of Raja Ram. In 1716, after a long absence, he reappeared at the Court of Satara and was made *Senapati* (commander-in-chief). He died in 1712, shortly after the defeat of Alim Ali Khan. Santaji was said to be the natural son of Parsuji Bhonsla (G. Duff, 199, note). Briggs in a note (p. 178) calls him Santaji Kadam.

*Khafi Khan, ii. 799, says Ikhlas Khan started at the end of Shawwal 1130 H. (24th September, 1718). This is too early to fit in with the other authorities. Kamraj, *Ibratnama*, 65*a*, says Husain Ali Khan was at Sarai Muhammad Azam Shah north of the Narmada river, when Ikhlas Khan joined him. He calls Ikhlas Khan the *Mir Munshi*.

suddenly news was received that he had marched for Dihli without orders.*

The *farman* carried by Ikhlas Khan, after acknowledging the receipt of Husain Ali Khan's report of his coming to Court with the son of Prince Akbar and reciting his promise to Rajah Sahu, the Mahratta ruler, (first) that the youth should not be killed, (secondly) that the Rajah's mother and brother should be released, goes on to state that the conditions asked for were accepted. For such an important business it was right for him to come, and His Majesty yearned to see him. At the same time, public affairs in the Dakhin were not in a position to admit of his absence, and the Mahrattas would seize the opportunity to give trouble. He ought, therefore, to return to his own Government. All necessary instructions had been given to Ikhlas Khan who would impart them orally ; and the prisoner should be made over to him on a signed and valid receipt. As for Rajah Sahu's requests, they would be granted in whatever way Husain Ali Khan chose to lay them before the throne.

In his reply, Husain Ali Khan admitted that to come to Court without orders was opposed to rule, but he required to represent in person certain matters pertaining to the Dakhin, and there was also the prisoner, with whose custody there was no one he could trust. He alleged that he had left a trustworthy deputy in the Dakhin. When, on reaching Malwa, Ikhlas Khan had delivered to him the *farman*, he had at once made ready to return. But the officers of the Mahratta Rajah, who were in his company at the head of a large force, swore that unless he remained, they could never secure the release of the Rajah's mother and brother. Now, if they were to

* From Amin-ud-din's letter to Ikhlas Khan, it would seem that on starting for Malwa, Muhammad Amin Khan had bragged much of the aid he would obtain from the Afghan chief, Dost Muhammad Khan (afterwards of Bhopal). Nothing came of these boasts. But he wrote to Dihli demanding impossible reinforcements in men and artillery and extravagant advances of money. His applications were rejected, and it was assumed at Dihli, as it turned out quite rightly, that he meant to beat a retreat. Probably he also received a summons from Farrukh-siyar to return to Court (see later on Section 33). *Dastur-ul-insha*, p. 53, Khafi Khan, ii. 794-799, 800.

suspect him of treachery, the consequences might be dreadful. Morever, he was overcome by his longing to see His Majesty once more, he had come a long way, the remaining distance was short ; he had therefore decided to push on, make over the prisoner, discuss certain matters of the Dakhin, and then return at once to his own Government. On these pretexts he disregarded the order to retrace his steps. [Shiu Das 20, 21*b*.]

SECTION 32.—PROGRESS OF EVENTS AT DIHLI.

By the middle of Muharram 1131 H. (7th December, 1718) Qutb-ul-mulk had been absent from Court for two or three months. In that month the Emperor passed several times close to his house on the way to and from Firuz Shah's *Lath*, towards which he had gone to hunt, but on no occasion had Qutb-ul-mulk come out to the door to make his obeisance, as required by etiquette. Farrukh-siyar was now in a state of terror at the approach of Husain Ali Khan, whose well-known violence of temper and vigour of purpose he much dreaded. He and his advisers thought it prudent therefore to win over Qutb-ul-mulk, so that he might act as a peace-maker and not as an increaser of strife. Since, by this time Farrukh-siyar had abandoned all hope of destroying the Sayyids, success in this new project was looked on as far from impossible. But, as Yahya Khan says, he did not recollect the saying, "After you have lost your sight what is the use of treatment?" [Yahya 124*a*, Kamwar 185, M.M. 417.]

Accordingly, on the 26th Muharram (18th December, 1718) Farrukh-siyar embarked in his boat on the Jamuna and was taken to the *Wazir's* door. Qutb-ul-mulk came out to meet him and bowed his head so as to touch the Emperor's feet. Rich offerings were brought and presented. In return Farrukh-siyar took off the turban he was wearing and placed it on the minister's head along with the costly jewels attached to it, adding a suit of clothes which he had himself worn.* Breakfast was eaten and a siesta taken in the house before his return to the palace. On his departure, after the exchange of many

* A mark of high favour, according to the Mughal ceremonial.

vows and promises, Ratan Chand and some others received robes of honour. Kamwar Khan here justly quotes a line to the effect that such promises were as much to be relied on as the winds of heaven.

The next day, the 27th, about midday, Qutb-ul-mulk appeared at the audience, made the usual offerings, and was dismissed. That afternoon there was an outbreak among the troops, and it very nearly ended in an attack on Qutb-ul-mulk's mansion. On one side were the artillery headed by Bika, Hazari;* on the other, the men of Rajah Ajit Singh and of Chura Jat. The fight lasted over three hours, many on both sides were killed, and only the coming-on of night separated the combatants. Ghazi-ud-din Khan Ghalib Jang, the commander of the artillery, Said Quli Khan Qul, and Sayyid Najm-ud-din Ali Khan intervened, and the quarrel was made up. Zafar Khan was sent by the Emperor to make excuses and apologize to Rajah Ajit Singh.†

At his own interview Qutb-ul-mulk had told the Emperor of Rajah Ajit Singh's discontent, which ought in his opinion to be removed. Acting on this opinion, Farrukh-siyar on the 1st Safar (23rd December, 1718) went with Qutb-ul-mulk to Rajah Ajit Singh's quarters, and presents were interchanged. He remained over an hour and then went on his way. On the following day the *Wazir* and Rajah Ajit Singh proceeded together to the Emperor's audience. To all appearance the breach was closed once more. The next man requiring to be conciliated was Sarbuland Khan, Mubariz-ul-mulk, Dilawar Jang. He had been appointed, as we have already said, to Agra, and after enlisting a large force marched as far as Faridabad. His expenses were heavy, and he was at all times a bad financier. Farrukh-siyar neither recalled him in order to strike a decisive blow, nor sent him any remittance from the treasury. Sarbuland Khan parted with everything he had, even down to his dwelling-house, and then came back from Faridabad without orders, and sought refuge in Old Dihli. His

---

* Or Tika. A *Hazari* is equivalent to a captain of artillery.

† Mirza Muhammad, 417, 478; Kamwar Khan, 185, 186; Khafi Khan, 800.

mansab had been taken from him in consequence. On the 6th Safar (28th December, 1718) Qutb-ul-mulk went to him and brought him to audience.*

By this time Farrukh-siyar began to see that Qutb-ul-mulk and Husain Ali Khan had obtained the upper hand of him. All his efforts were now directed to propitiating his enemies. Qutb-ul-mulk was raised on the 6th Safar (28th December) from 7,000 (7,000 horse) to 8,000 (8,000 horse) of which 5,000 were *duaspa* (two horses each); and he received a gift of 5 *krors* and 80 *lakhs* of *dam*. Itiqad Khan (Muhammad Murad) and Zafar Khan, Turra-i-baz, having acted as negotiators between the Emperor and Qutb-ul-mulk, the supposed happy results were attributed to their exertions. The former was now styled Rukn-ud-daulah, Itiqad Khan, Bahadur, Farrukh-Shahi, with the rank of 7,000 (7,000 horse) of which 4,000 were *duaspa*. To Zafar Khan's titles were added the words Rustam Jang ; he was given the insignia of the fish dignity, and he was promoted to 6,000. On the following day, 7th Safar (29th December), Husain Ali Khan was promoted to 8,000, (8,000 horse), of which 5,000 were *duaspa*, and 4 *krors* and 80 *lakhs* of *dam* were granted to him. [M. M. 429.]

Several appointments were made under the renewed influence of Qutb-ul-mulk. On the 16th Safar 1131 H. (7th January, 1719) Sarbuland Khan was appointed to Kabul, the former governor, Nasir Khan, having recently died at Peshawar. Maharajah Ajit Singh, on the same day, was gratified with the epithet of Rajeshwar, added to his other titles, and the Government of Ahmadabad-Gujarat was given to him, on the removal of Samsam-ud-daulah (Khan Dauran). At the same time the Emperor's own favourites were not forgotten. On the 16th Safar 1131 H. (7th January, 1719) the *chakla* of Muradabad (part of the *subah* of Dihli) was taken from Nizam-ul-mulk and erected into a *subah* with the name of Ruknabad, and conferred on Itiqad Khan,† his deputy being Fakhr-ullah Khan, his

* Kamwar Khan, 186; Mirza Muhammad, 427; Khafi Khan, 801.

‡ Khafi Khan, ii. 792, asserts that the *chakla* was given in *al-tamgha* (literally "Red-seal") or perpetual grant.

brother-in-law. Nizam-ul-mulk was thus entirely ousted from office, but Samsam-ud-daulah was consoled the next day for the loss of Ahmadabad by appointment to Agra, including the faujdarship of Mathura. [M. M. 414, 431 ; Kamwar 186.]

Farrukh-siyar's thoughts next turned to a reconciliation between Rajah Jai Singh Sawai, and Qutb-ul-mulk. Jai Singh was displeased at the part which Qutb-ul-mulk had played in the matter of Churaman Jat. As the Rajah had taken Farrukh-siyar's side throughout, the latter was very anxious to favour him, but Qutb-ul-mulk's position having proved so strong, he was afraid to do anything without a reconciliation. Therefore, on the 18th Safar (9th January, 1719), he sent Zafar Khan to the Rajah's house, and at this messenger's suggestion the Rajah accompanied him on a visit to Qutb-ul-mulk. The Nawab received him most affably, and gave him a dagger and other things by way of present. A return visit was paid on the 24th, followed on the 25th (15th and 16th January, 1719) by a visit to the Rajah from Farrukh-siyar himself, to whom valuable offerings were made both in cash and other things. The Rajah had also filled a reservoir (*hauz*) with rose-water and saffron, had adorned the trees with imported fruit, and in all ways strove to do honour to the occasion. His titles were increased to Raj-indar, Rajadhiraj. [Kamwar 187, M. M. 431.]

SECTION 33.—RETURN OF MUHAMMAD AMIN KHAN FROM MALWA.

Muhammad Amin Khan who had, as we have seen, deserted the post of danger in Malwa, now arrived near the city. In the preceding year he had received orders to clear the Malwa province from an incursion of the Mahrattas, but owing to the delay he made, for objects of his own, he fell under the imperial displeasure, was removed from the office of Second Bakhshi, and exiled from Court as permanent governor of Malwa. From that time he had been employed in his new province. In the interval Farrukh-siyar, pursuing his endeavours to destroy the Sayyids, had recourse first to Itiqad Khan and then to Sarbuland Khan. Despairing of them, he turned next to Ajit Singh, who went over at once to the opposite side. Nizam-ul-mulk was next appealed to. Seeing

clearly the Emperor's want of firmness, he declined to undertake the business himself, but continued to favour the idea and to give advice. Some say that on his suggestion his cousin, Muhammad Amin Khan, was recalled. No doubt, if Nizam-ul-mulk and Muhammad Amin Khan, could have believed in the truth of the promises made to them, and had been properly supported, in all probability the two Sayyids would have been uprooted easily enough. But Farrukh-siyar was a prey to unreasoning terrors, and he could never come to any firm resolve. [M. M. 433.]

When the rumours of Husain Ali Khan's intended return to Court were confirmed, Muhammad Amin Khan knew not what course to adopt. His force was not strong enough to enable him to throw himself across the Nawab's route and block his way. To openly evade a meeting would leave an indelible stain on his reputation for courage. Luckily, the order came for his return to Court and he set out at once.* In the meantime Farrukh-siyar came to the conclusion that he could never oust the Sayyids, and seeing no other way of escape tried to make friends with them. By this time Muhammad Amin Khan had marched back as far as Agra. Qutb-ul-mulk thereupon remarked that as His Majesty had no longer any distrust of him, why or wherefore had he recalled Muhammad Amin Khan? Farrukh-siyar, frightened that there would be trouble, sent off urgent orders to Muhammad Amin Khan directing his return to Malwa. As this order did not suit that noble's plans he disobeyed it, and leaving his baggage in Agra, he made forced marches towards Dihli. On the 20th Safar (11th January, 1719) he was at Barahpula, a few miles to the south of the city.

On learning of Muhammad Amin Khan's arrival, Qutb-ul-mulk said to His Majesty: "It seems that the servants of the State have made disobedience of orders a habit. To such an extent is this the case that, in spite of renewed orders to retrace his steps, Muhammad Amin Khan has not discontinued

* Khafi Khan, 802, on the other hand, asserts that he left Malwa without orders and without permission.

his advance to the capital." Farrukh-siyar was put out at this complaint, and answered: "Have you any one you can send to turn him back?" The *Wazir* then sent Rajah Ratan Chand to persuade Muhammad Amin to return to his Government under pain of the imperial displeasure. Muhammad Amin Khan used strong language, even in the Rajah's presence, and utterly refused to obey. The Rajah reported this state of things to the minister. Qutb-ul-mulk, with much heat, repeated the matter to the Emperor, and caused him to become angry. Muhammad Amin Khan was deprived of his rank (*mansab*), and his revenue assignments (*jagirs*) were attached. Qutb-ul-mulk considered that the stars in their courses were fighting for him, when the Emperor had been estranged from such a high-placed and valiant noble. Forthwith he set to work to make his own peace with Muhammad Amin, and in two or three days obtained from the Emperor permission for him to enter the city, sending out his own brother Najm-ud-din Ali Khan, and Zafar Khan to escort him to his home. This took place on the 29th Safar (20th January). The incident turned Muhammad Amin Khan's heart from Farrukh-siyar, and made him friendly to the cause of the Sayyids, at least to the extent of securing his neutrality.

At this point a few other changes may be noted. As a consequence of Muhammad Amin Khan's loss of favour, the office of paymaster to the *Ahadis* was taken from his son, Qamr-ud-din Khan, and given to Zafar Khan Turra-i-baz on the 1st Rabi I. 1131 H. (21st January, 1719). Then, Inayatullah Khan, with whom Qutb-ul-mulk was displeased for his refusal to bow before the authority of Rajah Ratan Chand, lost his appointment of *diwan*. But as Farrukh-siyar believed in this man's honesty, he was not kept altogether out of employ, but transferred to the post of *Khan-saman*, or Lord Steward, on the 3rd Rabi I. 1131 H. (23rd January, 1719). The diwanship of the *Tan* (assigned revenues) was made over to Rajah Bakht Mal, a protégé of Muhammad Yar Khan; as for the Exchequer or *Khalsa*, Qutb-ul-mulk was told to carry on the duties till someone else was nominated, 4th Rabi I. 1131 H. (24th January, 1719). [M. M. 443.]

SEC. 34.—ARRIVAL OF HUSAIN ALI KHAN AT DIHLI.

Husain Ali Khan was approaching nearer and nearer to Dihli. He left Burhanpur on the 22nd Muharram 1131 H. (14th December, 1718) and Ujjain on the 4th Safar (26th December, 1718), having crossed the Narmada by the Akbarpur ferry. The embassy of Ikhlas Khan, who had met him near Mandu, had been unsuccessful in arresting his march. Then by letters from Barqandaz Khan, *faujdar* of Gwaliyar, and from his own agent at Court, he heard of the renewal of friendly intercourse on the 26th Muharram 1131 H. (18th December, 1718), between the Emperor and Qutb-ul-mulk. Publicly, he received the news with the remark that if His Majesty had no longer ill-will to them, they had no other object left than to serve him loyally ; after he had seen the Emperor and settled certain matters, he would return to the Dakhin without delay. The Dakhin officials, on leaving Aurangabad, had been told that they would be dismissed at the Fardapur Pass ; on reaching that pass, they were ordered to come on to Burhanpur. At Burhanpur, much to their disgust, their continued attendance was enjoined. Thus, when the news of a return march to the Dakhin spread from tent to tent throughout the camp, all men received it with joy and looked forward to speedily seeing their homes again. But, in a day or two, persons in the confidence of Husain Ali Khan divulged the fact that privately he had expressed the opinion that this was only a new plot hatched by Farrukh-siyar, that it was absurd on the face of it ; had they never heard the saying : "When was a secret kept if it was told in an assembly ?" A wise man could perceive the only possible result, namely, if they fell into the clutches of the Emperor, their lives would be forfeited ; but if they get hold of him, his escape was hopeless. [M. M. 433, K. K. 799.]

All this time the supposed Prince was surrounded and guarded with the greatest care. An elephant with rich trappings was set apart for him, and he rode in a canopied seat with the curtains drawn on all four sides, so that no one could see or recognize him. A separate division of the army was told off to escort him, and surrounded his elephant on every

side. He was accorded the state and dignity of an imperial Prince, men of rank stood on watch all night round his quarters; and on the march, two men sat behind the canopy waving fans of peacock feathers. [Shiu Das, 20*a*.]

When they came to the Rana of Udepur's country, some villages and a great deal of sugar-cane were plundered by the men of the army. Soon afterwards a Brahman sent by the Rana arrived with presents and cash. Strict orders were then issued to refrain from injuring the crops. On the contrary, when they passed into the lands of Rajah Jai Singh Sawai, the offering brought by one of his principal officers was refused, while many villages with their crops and cattle were pillaged by the camp-followers. Even the women and children of the cultivators were looked on as lawful plunder and carried off. [K. K. 803.]

Another effort was now made by Farrukh-siyar, on the 1st Rabi I. 1131 H. (21st January, 1719) to conciliate Husain Ali Khan through Abdul-ghafur. This man was married to a sister of Itiqad Khan's (Muhammad Murad's) wife. Early in this reign he had joined Husain Ali Khan, was admitted to his intimacy, and made the confidant of his secrets. When his brother-in-law rose into favour, he asked permission from Husain Ali Khan and returned to Court. Through Itiqad Khan he was made a *Duhazari* (2,000). He was now promoted to 2,500 *zat* with a standard, and deputed to interview Husain Ali Khan, his former friend. By this time even Farrukh-siyar's intimates began to despair of him. Amin-ud-din wrote: "The complexion of affairs changes here daily, fickleness prevails, sense is absent, and every moment one futile device is succeeded by another. It reminds one of the fable of the mice and the cat. In a deserted spot there were many mice, and every day the cat came and took two or three of them. The mice met in council and resolved to hang a bell to the cat's neck, so that having warning they might flee in time. The bell was got. But who was there able to attach it to the cat's neck?" Farrukh-siyar's projects were of this sort, from which nothing but failure could result. He is represented as still believing that the storm would blow over as it had done before.

He did not seem to see that "to heal an estranged heart was as hard as to mend a broken glass," and advice was thrown away upon him. [Kamwar 187, *Dastur-ul-insha* 30.]

When Abdul-ghafur had started, Farrukh-siyar recollected that for a long time past Qutb-ul-mulk had urged that, until the office of *darogha* or superintendent of the privy audience had been made over to one of his brothers, he and his brother could not feel themselves safe. As Husain Ali Khan's arrival grew nearer, the Emperor felt sure he would make the same request, nay, would never come to an audience till it had been granted. But if such an appointment were made, Samsam-ud-daulah would be ousted. He had long taken Farrukh-siyar's side, and though lately he had fallen out of favour, his public disgrace was not desired. Accordingly on the 10th Rabi I. (30th January, 1719) he was consoled with the place of 2nd Bakhshi, from which Islam Khan was ejected. Samsam-ud-daulah's duties as deputy of Husain Ali Khan, the first Bakhshi, were transferred to Zafar Khan Turra-i-baz, who was friendly with the Sayyids, and at the same time professed to be zealous for the Emperor. He made all the efforts he could to bring the parties to an agreement. For his attempts to keep friends with everybody he was described, Khafi Khan [806] says, as "the ingredient in every dish." Sayyid Salabat Khan succeeded Zafar Khan as fourth Bakhshi. [M. M. 444.]

Sarbuland Khan had lately been appointed to Kabul, but was still discontented. To appease him the Emperor ordered Qutb-ul-mulk to visit him. This visit took place on the 9th Rabi I. (29th January, 1719), Itiqad Khan accompanying the *Wazir*. Sarbuland Khan on the 13th moved out as far as the Salt Market on his way to Kabul. Three days afterwards he was visited, by express orders, by Maharajah Ajit Singh and Maharao Bhim Singh. Then at Sarai Mihr-Parwar, nine *kos* from the city,* he halted and awaited the course of events. [M. M. 445, Qasim 248.]

---

* Sarai Mihr-Parwar is not marked on the *Indian Atlas;* it must have been between Narela and Sonpat, perhaps near Akbarpur Barota. Miskin, B. M. Oriental, No. 1918, *fol.* 67*a*, mentions it as lying ten *kos* from Dihli.

Another new appointment, made on the 18th Rabi I. 1131 H. (7th February, 1719), was that of Nizam-ul-mulk to the province of Azimabad-Patna in place of Khan Zaman Khan. From the first up to this time Nizam-ul-mulk had never asked a favour from Qutb-ul-mulk or his brother, and had even refrained from visiting them. On many occasions, during these troubles, he had urged on Farrukh-siyar the uprooting of the Sayyids as the best course he could pursue. On this account the two brothers were far from well disposed towards him. But now Farrukh-siyar, in a state of mortal fright, had placed himself completely in the hands of the two brothers. Under these altered circumstances, it was to the Emperor's interest to put an end to the quarrels and ill-feeling among the nobles, and he urged Qutb-ul-mulk to take the first step in making friends with Nizam-ul-mulk. This reconciliation falling in with Qutb-ul-mulk's own ideas, on the 18th Rabi I. (7th February, 1719) accompanied by two of his sister's sons, Sayyid Ghairat Khan and Sayyid Shujaat-ullah Khan, and by Zafar Khan, he paid a visit to Nizam-ul-mulk. Their talk was of a friendly character and to all appearance amity took the place of enmity. This was followed on the 23rd (12th February, 1719) by a banquet given to Nizam-ul-mulk at Qutb-ul-mulk's house, when the host loaded his guest with costly presents. Nizam-ul-mulk at the request of the *Wazir* was now appointed governor of Bihar. With one exception, that of Rajah Jai Singh, all the influential nobles had now been won over to the party of the Sayyids and had deserted Farrukh-siyar. The case of Nizam-ul-mulk furnishes a flagrant instance of Farrukh-siyar's short-sightedness. He had recalled this noble from Muradabad, and without providing him with any equivalent, his charge was given to Itiqad Khan, the favourite. Naturally Nizam-ul-mulk was disgusted, and became a willing listener to overtures from Qutb-ul-mulk.*

As Husain Ali Khan was now not very far off, on the 21st Rabi I. (10th February, 1719) Zafar Khan, and a day or two afterwards Itiqad Khan, were sent out to greet him on the

*Khafi Khan, ii. 792; Mirza Muhammad, 446; Kamwar Khan, 188.

Emperor's behalf. They found his camp, on the 25th Rabi I. 1131 H. (14th February, 1719), at Sarai Allahwirdi Khan, about sixteen miles south-west of the city.* They are said to have met with a very ungracious reception. Zafar Khan gave offence by his ostentatious retinue ; but more potent still was the talk of Rajah Ratan Chand, who had managed to anticipate them. He had already impressed Husain Ali Khan with the belief that even after the last reconciliation, Farrukh-siyar continued both openly and secretly to favour those who wished to supersede the Sayyids, and had conferred on their enemies gifts and promotions, giving them hints to carry on the struggle. In short, through bad advice, the Emperor was still intent on "using his hatchet to cut his own foot." Amin-ud-din was one of the men who interviewed Husain Ali Khan at this halting-place. He writes to the Emperor that, having been taken by Ikhlas Khan to the *Mir Bakhshi*, he laid before him the message with which he had been entrusted. Husain Ali Khan smiled but said nothing. As it was getting late, Amin-ud-din asked what answer he should send. Husain Ali Khan said that, as there was no time left, he would see him again on the morrow at the next stage, Sarai Moth.† But if, as he had demanded, the interior of the palace were made over to their guards, all the Emperor's servants turned out, and the keys of all the gates handed to their men, he would, in the presence of His Majesty say and do what was requisite. In Amin-ud-din's opinion things looked very black, even Ikhlas Khan threw the blame of his ill-success on Farrukh-siyar's inconsistent conduct ; "or rather what fault did your Majesty commit ; Fate had willed that it should be so."

---

* Khafi Khan, ii. 804, says that Zafar Khan and Ratan Chand reached the camp four stages from Dihli. Sarai Allahwirdi Khan is on the *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 49, s. w. : it lies two miles south of Gurganw. *Ahwal-ul-khawaqin*, 139, mentions Kot Patili, 99 miles s. w. of Dihli in Jaipur territory, as one of Husain Ali Khan's halting places, Thornton 528, Lat. 27° 43′, Long. 76° 16′.

† Sarai Moth is no doubt meant for Moth ki Masjid, about 5½ miles south of the Dihli Gate of Shahjahanabad, see map in Carr Stephens, p. 1, and description on p. 166.

Amin-ud-din winds up by offering a choice of two courses. First, Itiqad Khan having been sent a prisoner to the *kotwali* or city police office, Samsam-ud-daulah, Ghalib Jang, Mir Mushrif, and others should be called out to defend their sovereign; neither the guards of the palace should be withdrawn nor the keys of the gates made over; and His Majesty should issue forth and take the command in person. The other suggestion was that Farrukh-siyar should mount his horse and ride out alone, and presenting himself as a supplicant, ask for forgiveness: whatever sacrifice was demanded must be made. Even thus it was doubtful if Husain Ali Khan would be appeased.*

SEC. 35.—HUSAIN ALI KHAN MARCHES TO WAZIRABAD.

On the 27th Rabi I. 1131 H. (16th Feb. 1719) Husain Ali Khan at the head of his army, estimated to include 30,000 horsemen, marched to Wazirabad, one of the imperial hunting preserves about four miles north of the city, on the Jamuna bank.† As they passed, his troops plundered the shops and trod down, in the most merciless manner, the standing crops in the fields outside the city. By this time he had often been heard to say, that as he no longer considered himself to be in the imperial service, why should he respect the rules of etiquette; the sovereign's anger, or the loss of rank having no terrors left for him. Disregarding the rules forbidding the playing of the *naubat* within one mile of the capital, he marched in with sovereign state, kettle-drums beating and clarions sounding. His fear fell on the hearts of all men, great and small. Farrukh-siyar was so overwhelmed with apprehension that he took no notice of this transgression; and persisting

* Mirza Muhammad, 447; Kamwar Khan, 189, 193; Khafi Khan, ii. 804; *Dastur-ul-insha* 57.

† Khafi Khan, ii. 804, names Sarai Badli, which is a place about 3 miles due west of Wazirabad. Muhammad Qasim, 230, says the camp was close to the pillar of Firuz Shah, and near Qutb-ul-mulk's mansion. This must mean the second pillar north of the city, see *ante*, Section 32. In the *Ibratnama* of Kamraj, 65, the place is described as Lat Firuz Shah, "near the camp of Ajit Singh."

in his senseless conduct, he forwarded daily messages to the haughty rebel in soft and flattering words, with presents of fruit, *betel* and scent. Husain Ali Khan's pride increased in proportion, and to all these overtures he returned nothing but harsh answers. Still Farrukh-siyar's advisers persuaded him that all this rigour and this ill-temper were assumed, and merely intended by Husain Ali Khan to increase his own importance, without betokening anything more serious.*

On the 29th (18th Feb. 1719) Muhammad Amin Khan and Nawab Ghazi-ud-din Khan Ghalib Jang came at different hours to visit Husain Ali Khan. It is said that Muhammad Amin Khan, being angry with Farrukh-siyar, urged Husain Ali Khan to depose him, and the danger from the Mughal party, which up to this time had threatened, was thus dissipated completely. On the 30th (19th Feb. 1719) Qutb-ul-mulk, Maharajah Ajit Singh and Maharao Bhim Singh came to see Husain Ali Khan. The three men held council together and their projects took shape and substance. It was decided that first of all, before Husain Ali Khan presented himself, the post of darogha of the privy audience and the command of the artillery should be confided to their nominees. Farrukh-siyar, owing to the presence of the rival Prince, was in such a state of trepidation that, as one writer says, "his liver melted through fear." He wished Amin-ud-din to find out what the Sayyids were plotting. Amin-ud-din refused and repeated his former advice. But from a friend, who had access to the Sayyids, he had just received a note, which he sent on in original. In this it was stated that Farrukh-siyar was to be deposed, and one of the captive Princes raised to the throne. "Now was the time, in God's name, to fight for life, to brace himself up to resolve! For, if he paid no heed, he might be sure that Fortune would say good-bye, and the lamp of success would be extinguished. What care or sorrow could the writer and his friends have, save for His Majesty's person ; to them individually what did it matter? It is the ass that is changed, not the pack-saddle."†

* M. M. 447; Kamwar 189; Khafi Khan, 804; Shiu Das, 24*a*.

† The strong language of this letter is so opposed to all the usual forms, that one almost doubts its authenticity, but Ghulam Husain Khan in his

Following the advice of Itiqad Khan, all the demands made by the Sayyids were conceded. On the 1st Rabi II. 1131 H. (20th February, 1719) Samsam-ud-daulah was ordered to vacate the house in the fort known as the *peshkhana*. He left it and moved into his own mansion in the city. Some five to six thousand of the Emperor's own troops (the *Wala-shahi*), and all Samsam-ud-daulah's retainers marched out of the fort. The following appointments were then made: Sayyid Najm-ud-din Ali Khan (with Itiqad Khan as deputy) to be darogha of the privy audience, *vice* Samsam-ud-daulah; Sayyid Khan Jahan (with Zafar Khan as deputy) to be commandant of the imperial artillery; Abdun-nabi Khan to be head officer of the mace-bearers; Sayyid Shujaat Khan to be the head officer of the *jilau*, or retinue; Nijabat Ali Khan to be nazir or head of the harem; and Sayyid Ghairat Khan to be governor of Agra. Farrukh-siyar insisted that as the celebration of the *Nauroz*, or New Year's day, was so close at hand, [29 Rabi II.], Itiqad Khan and the other old officials should continue to act for a few days as the deputies of the new office-holders. But in spite of the remonstrances addressed to him by his own people, Farrukh-siyar agreed that on the day of the interview, the gates of the fort and the doors of the palace should be held by Husain Ali Khan's men. [K. K. 806.]

During these few days the city was full of rumours, and fear spread among all classes. Daily the nobles were seen hastening to and fro in vain efforts to arrange the question in dispute. Even Qutb-ul-mulk professed to be exerting himself in the same direction. It is said that in those few days Rajah Jai Singh several times pointed out to Farrukh-siyar many indications that the other side meant to come to no arrangement. It were well then, he urged, before matters went beyond mending, to take the field and fall upon the Sayyids. All would rally to his side, he, Jai Singh, had with him nearly 20,000 tried and trusty horsemen, and until the last breath had left his body he would fight for his master. Their enemy was not likely to resist

Siyar-ul-mutakherin has used others in the same collection as good historical evidence. Mirza Muhammad, 448; *Dastur-ul-insha* 59.

long. Even if the Fates were unpropitious, they would have escaped, at any rate, the taunt of being cowards. All was in vain. The infatuated Emperor persisted in his attempt to buy off the Sayyids by concession after concession ; and a few days afterwards, yielding to the insistance of Qutb-ul-mulk, he, by a note written with his own hand, ordered Rajah Jai Singh and Rao Budh Singh to march from Dihli to their own country. The Rajah was told that the following day was an "auspicious moment" for a start, and as his robe of honour on departure accompanied the note, he need not wait for a farewell interview.* A eunuch brought the note to the Rajah : he protested but was not listened to ; and seeing no help for it, he obeyed, and moved to Sarai Sahil. This was on the 3rd Rabi II. (22nd February, 1719).†

On this same day, there was a fight on the march between Rajah Bhim Singh and Rajah Budh Singh, who were first cousins, and had quarrelled over the succession to their ancestral country of Bundi. Several Rajputs and the diwan of Budh Singh were slain. In the end Bhim Singh's side prevailed and Budh Singh, with a small following, rode off to Sarai Allahwirdi Khan to seek the protection of Rajah Jai Singh Sawai, who had taken his side in the dispute. [K. K. 806.]

SEC. 36.—HUSAIN ALI KHAN'S FIRST AUDIENCE.

On the 4th Rabi II. (23rd February, 1719) Qutb-ul-mulk and his brother Husain Ali Khan were to be received by the Emperor. Qutb-ul-mulk and Ajit Singh repaired to the palace early in the morning, removed all the imperial guards, and substituted men of their own. At three hours after sunrise, Husain Ali Khan set out. First of all came the Mahrattas, their ranks reaching from the entrance of the hunting preserve to the gate of the fortress, their lances (*neza*) and spears (*bhala*) reminding the spectator of a waving reed-bed or cane-brake. Following them marched the Nawab and his retinue. Owing

* Shiu Das, 236, gives the words of Farrukh-siyar's note. Jai Singh's autograph to the Rana's minister (Tod i. 370) conforms generally to the Muhammadan accounts.

† Mirza Muhammad, 449; Khafi Khan, ii. 805, 806; Kamwar Khan, 191.

to the great crowds, progress was slow and the palace was not reached till close upon three o'clock. On the arrival of the Sayyids in the hall of audience, the few remaining eunuchs and pages were turned out, leaving only the two brothers and Ajit Singh with the Emperor. Husain Ali Khan bowed down to kiss the Emperor's feet, but Farrukh-siyar preventing this act of homage, put his arms round him and embraced him. The Bakhshi offered 100 gold coins and 100 Rupees ; and in return received gifts of the usual character. Conversation then began. Husain Ali Khan first brought up the subject of the *farman* sent to Daud Khan, which had been found among the confiscated goods of that noble after his death. Farrukh-siyar declared it to be a forgery ; he knew nothing about it. Husain Ali Khan next demanded further concessions. Itiqad Khan and several others must be excluded from Court, and all the offices round His Majesty's person must be made over permanently to the Sayyids and their nominees.*

One of the first questions to cross Farrukh-siyar's lips was : "Where is your prisoner, the son of Prince Akbar?" "He is here," replied Husain Ali Khan, "but the Dakhinis object to produce him before they have received Sahu's mother and brother." Accordingly Bandhu, who for over thirty years had been prisoner, was brought out and made over to the Mahrattas. Husain Ali Khan then promised to bring the Prince to audience on the following day, and deliver him over publicly, so that no future doubts as to his fate might arise.† The Emperor and the Bakhshi now pledged themselves anew to each other. Farrukh-siyar took off his turban and placed it on the head of Husain Ali Khan, adding a gift of all the jewels that he was then wearing. Husain Ali Khan accepted only a part of the

* Mirza Muhammad, 450; Kamwar Khan, 190; Khafi Khan, ii. 806; Muhammad Qasim, 232.

† Shiu Das, 24*b*, but Warid, 157*b*, places this conversation on the last two days of the reign. Khush-hal Chand (B. M. 3288, *fol.* 316*b*), following the *Masir-i-Alamgiri* (p. 333), calls the younger brothers of Sahu, Madan Singh and Udhu Singh. Kamwar, 199, (1st Jamadi I. 1131 H.) speaks of one only, Madan Singh; and his release is placed on the 1st Jamadi I. 1131, (21st March, 1719). Grant Duff, p. 184, calls Madan the illegitimate son of Shambhaji.

gifts offered to him. The interview was prolonged until three hours after nightfall, and when the Sayyid had left, all men believed that the strife had been allayed and ill-will converted into friendliness. The courtiers began to extol the boldness of His Majesty and praise the loyalty and good faith of the honourable Sayyids. [K. K. 807.]

On the 5th and 6th Rabi II. (24th and 25th February, 1719) Farrukh-siyar sat as usual in the *Diwan-i-khas* ; and all seemed likely to go on as before. The 8th Rabi II. was one of the days fixed in each week for hunting expeditions. Believing that the storm had blown over, the Emperor issued orders to prepare his retinue for that day, intending to go out of the city as usual.* Suspicion arose in the Sayyids' minds that this was a mere pretext for flight to Jai Singh's camp, which was not then very far off. Qutb-ul-mulk at once wrote to the Emperor that on that day, the 8th, Husain Ali Khan craved an audience, for the purpose of delivering the captive Prince brought from the Dakhin, and of taking his own leave before returning to that province. Overjoyed at the prospect of at last obtaining possession of this dreaded rival, Farrukh-siyar countermanded his expedition or, as another contemporary writer maintains, the hunting expedition had been a mere pretext. By this second account, it had been decided that directly the Emperor left the palace he should fall upon the Nawab, whose suspicions, as they thought, would have been lulled by the negotiations, and thus catching him unawares, he would be easily destroyed. A message was sent postponing the audience ; but before it reached him, Husain Ali Khan had been warned by a woman in the harem. In his answer, he announced that as the next day had been pronounced exceedingly auspicious, he could not put off the audience, and prayed that the hunting excursion might be countermanded instead. His troops remained on the alert all night ; and three hours before sunrise, Rajah Muhkam Singh occupied the Lahori Gate of the palace, where he awaited Qutb-ul-mulk.†

* The days fixed were two a week, Saturday and Wednesday, Shiu Das, 3*a*. I make the 8th to be a Monday or a Tuesday.

† Kamraj, *Ibratnama*, 15*b*; Kamwar Khan, 190, 191; Mirza Muhammad, 452.

SEC. 37.—THE SAYYIDS TAKE POSSESSION OF THE PALACE.

On the 8th Rabi II. 1131 H., (27th February, 1719), early in the morning, Qutb-ul-mulk entered the palace with his own relations and dependants, Najm-ud-din Ali Khan, Ghairat Khan and others, followed by Rajah Ajit Singh, Maharao Bhim Singh Hada, and Rajah Gaj Singh Narwari. The imperial artillerymen and the matchlockmen on guard were removed from the bastions and battlements, and evacuated the palace. Not a single soul was left in attendance on the Emperor, except Itiqad Khan, Zafar Khan and two or three eunuchs. The Wazir took up his position in the house known as the *pesh-khana* of the late Jafar Khan,* which had been lately vacated by Samsam-ud-daulah ; while the three Rajahs were sent to occupy the office-rooms of the revenue (*diwani*) and of the chamberlain's (*Khan-saman*) departments. The keys of the privy council chamber (*Diwan-i-khas*), of the sleeping room, and of the Hall of Justice were sent for ; and the doors of the palace and the gates of the fort were confided to men trusted by the Sayyids ; troops were hidden in the antechambers (*jilau-khana*) and the palace was guarded on all sides.†

About midday, leaving Saif-ud-din Ali Khan in charge of his baggage, Husain Ali Khan entered the city at the head of 30,000 or 40,000 horsemen and a well equipped artillery, bringing with him the supposed Prince, seated on an elephant in a canopied *howda*, and heralds running before him proclaiming his titles. Husain Ali Khan proceeded to the mansion known as the *Barahdari* of the late Amir-ul-umara, Shaista Khan,‡

* Khush-hal Chand, 413*b*, states that Qutb-ul-mulk went to the Haiyat Bagh. This is more usually called the Haiyat Bakhsh. It was a garden occupying the north-west corner of the Lal Qila or palace, (see Carr Stephens, 6. 216, plan). The Jafar Khan here referred to is, no doubt, the man who died in 1080 H. (1669-1670). He was the son-in-law of Asaf Khan, see *M. U.* i. 151, 531 ; ii. 729.

† Khafi Khan, 807 ; Kamwar Khan, 192 ; Mirza Muhammad, 452.

‡ Shaista Khan, maternal uncle of Alamgir Aurangzeb, died at Agra in the middle of 1105 H. (1695), (*M. U.* ii. 709 and *T-i-Muhammadi*). His house stood on the edge of the *Shah-nahr* or canal, opposite the Lahor Gate of the palace, (Muhammad Qasim, 236).

which had been granted to him early in Farrukh-siyar's reign. The Mahratta horsemen drew up at the gates of the palace and in the adjoining lanes of the city. Outside the palace, during the whole of that day, not a soul had the remotest suspicion of any hostile movements. The first inkling of any fresh disagreement was obtained between sunset and evening prayer-time. Itiqad Khan was seen to come out of the *Diwan-i-khas,* his limbs trembling from fright, scramble into the first palanquin he could find, and make off to his house. Soon afterwards, Karm Chand, an agent employed at the Court, wrote to those outside that all the Sayyids' demands had been complied with, including the degradation of Itiqad Khan to the rank that he had held in Alamgir's reign. This news at once spread agitation and anxiety throughout the city. All night long Qutb-ul-mulk and Maharajah Ajit Singh remained in the palace, and Husain Ali Khan in his own mansion.*

What had happened within the palace must now be told. After much discussion Qutb-ul-mulk, at a time between midday and afternoon prayer, presented himself before the Emperor. Qutb-ul-mulk at once repudiated Farrukh-siyar's proferred compromise, by which Itiqad Khan and his other friends were to act as the deputies of the Sayyids and their nominees. From the first, Qutb-ul-mulk had objected to the appointment as nazir of the harem of any one not a eunuch. Itiqad Khan was removed from that office, which was made over to a eunuch, Mahaldar Khan. Next, the Wazir expatiated on the base return given for his and his brother's services, bringing up again the secret instructions to Daud Khan, and similar letters sent to Rajah Sahu Mahratta and others, all of which the Sayyids had in their possession. The Emperor's repeated appeals: "Why does not my brother, the Amir-ul-umara, bring to me the supposititious Prince," passed entirely unheeded. In the course of this conversation Farrukh-siyar lost his temper and was overcome with anger; both sides were thus led to the use of abusive language and harsh expressions, things being said which had better been left unsaid. In his rage

* Khafi Khan, 807, Kamraj, *Ibratnama*, 66*a*, Shiu Das, 25*a*.

Farrukh-siyar shouted: "If I am a true son of Azim-ush-shan and a real descendant of the Lord of the Conjunctions (*i.e.*, Taimur), I will impose retribution for these uncalled-for deeds and this unmeasured audacity. I will have the lands of the Barha ploughed by asses, and mice thrust into the trousers of their women."* Qutb-ul-mulk grew furious, and venting his wrath in disrespectful words, left the *Diwan-i-khas* for the guard-room (*peshkhana*) of the *Diwan-i-ala*, and turned out seven hundred of Itiqad Khan's horsemen who were still on guard at the Khizri, or water-gate of the palace, and the rest of Ajit Singh's men. He saw now that if they were to save themselves, extremities must be resorted to, for as Sadi has said: "When a snake touches the foot of the villager, he withdraws it and breaks the snake's head with a stone." As soon as the minister had left his presence, Farrukh-siyar turned upon Itiqad Khan and poured out on him angry abuse and reproach. We are told that Itiqad Khan had ventured to object to delivering the keys of the gate to the Sayyids. This aroused Farrukh-siyar's anger, and turning to him he exclaimed: "O wretched man! all this calamity has come on me by reason of you. This moment, when I am a prisoner in their hands, you choose as the time for giving contrary advice." The Emperor ordered him to be turned out of the palace. Itiqad Khan, seeing that things had assumed for him a different complexion, hurried away to his own dwelling, as already stated.†

Farrukh-siyar now began to cool, and addressing Zafar Khan said "Bring back Abdullah Khan by any means you can; I will do all that he demands." Zafar Khan replied: "The opportunity has been lost: the only thing is for your Majesty to go to him in person." Farrukh-siyar refused. Then full of mingled rage and fear, he quitted the window of the

* *Ibratnama*, Kamraj, 66*a*. Yoking donkeys in a plough and driving them over the ruins of a captured fort was a well-known practice. See Elliot *Supp. Gloss.* under *Gadhe ka hal*, or donkey plough. The practice was known to the Tamils in early times, see Dr. G. N. Pope's article in *R. A. S. Journal*, April, 1899, p. 252: "Asses are yoked to plough up the soil with spears, while worthless plants are sown on the foundations. Thus rages the conquering king."

† Kamraj, 66*a*; Khafi Khan, 807; Yahya, 124*b*; Qasim, 237.

privy audience chamber and entered the female apartments. The queens and the concubines crowded round him, the Turki and Habshi women were told off to guard the doors, and the night was passed "in supplication and lamentation before the throne of the Eternal." Qutb-ul-mulk had turned Zafar Khan out of the fort, and placed his own sentries to guard the privy audience chamber or *Diwan-khana*. One of the most curious incidents in this confused drama, was a despairing attempt by Farrukh-siyar to secure the aid of Ajit Singh. He wrote: "The east side of the palace, towards the Jamuna, is not guarded; if you can, despatch there some of your men, so that I may get out and make off somewhere or another." He gave this note to a eunuch, who thrust it into his pocket, and succeeding by a thousand wiles in eluding the vigilance of the guards, placed it in the Rajah's hand. The Rajah replied that the proper time had gone by, what could he do now? Some even say that he sent on the original letter to Abdullah Khan. The Wazir called at once for Chura Jat, to whom was assigned a post on the river bank below the octagonal bastion of the fort. On every roof sat the Sayyids' men with loaded wall-pieces ready to fire. In short, "such close guarding was carried out and such care taken, that not even the gentle breeze could find a way into or out of the fort." In every lane and street of the city the outcry was heard that the Emperor had been deposed. No food was eaten, no repose taken; the night passed in fear and expectation. The more sanguine believed that in the morning Rajah Jai Singh would march in from Sarai Sahil in the one direction, and Sarbuland Khan from Sarai Mihr-Parwar in the other; and by their united forces would rescue Farrukh-siyar out of his enemies' hands, and replace him on the throne.*

SECTION 38.—THE LAST DAY OF THE REIGN.

At last the fateful morning dawned of the 9th Rabi II. 1131 H. (28th February, 1719). Only an hour or an hour-and-

* Kamwar Khan, 192, who got his facts from Zafar Khan Turra-i-baz, who was present himself. Shiu Das, *25a*; Khush-hal Chand, *413b*; Muhammad Qasim, 248.

a-half after daybreak, a great disturbance arose in the city. Muhammad Amin Khan Chin Bahadur, and Zakariya Khan (son of Abdus-samad Khan), at the desire apparently of Husain Ali Khan, were on their way at the head of their Mughals to attend the Sayyid's *darbar*.* As the crowd of Mahrattas in the streets and lanes near the fort impeded their progress, the Mughals began to push them forcibly on one side, and open a route for the two Nawabs and their retinue. Having in the Dakhin felt for many a year the weight of their right arm, the Mahrattas as soon as they saw their Mughals' faces, fled like a flock of sheep before a pack of wolves. So overcome with fear were they, that with no man pursuing, they allowed the bazar idlers—butchers, washermen, and scavengers—to relieve them of their horses and spears. Things came to such a pass that the *Bhatiyarins*, or women attendants belonging to the public *sarai* in Mughalpura, seized each the bridle reins of some five of these Rawat† horsemen, and by hitting them with sticks or throwing bricks at them, unhorsed them in spite of their lances, stripped them, and killed them. In their panic the men lifted neither hand nor foot to defend themselves, but crept like mice into any doorway or passage that they could find. They were killed as if they were dogs or cats. It was enough for a shopkeeper to stand up, and with a sign or a frown to demand the surrender of their arms. Calling out, *Are bap! Are bap!* and throwing away their straight Dakhini swords [Dhup] and their shields, they stood on one leg with a straw between their lips, and besought mercy, saying *Nako! Nako!* ‡ Two or three leaders of repute lost their lives, among them the chief Santa, who commanded some five or six thousand

* Kamraj, 66, Zakariya Khan was approaching the palace from the direction of Bazar Khanam.

† *Rawat* (hero, chief), is used here by the Muhammadan historian as a synonym for inferior Hindus, mere rustics, or in other words "beggars on horseback."

‡ Muhammad Qasim, 244. The custom known as *Dant-tinka*, or "straw between teeth," expressive of abject submission, Elliot, *Supp. Gloss*, 252; *Are bap* = "O father!" an exclamation of sudden terror; *"Nako, Nako"* = Dakhini for "Do not, do not," Kamraj, 66, and J. Shakespear, 2078.

horsemen. From the gate of the fort to the entrance of the hunting preserve, and the market (*mandavi*) and the Takiya of Majnun Shah, a distance of three or four *kos*, bodies were to be seen in every direction. The slain included many men who, from the darkness of their complexion, had been mistaken for Mahrattas. All the *aftabgir*, a kind of standard which the Mahrattas carry as a mark of honour, one to every fifteen or twenty horsemen, had disappeared.* The lining of their saddles was ripped open, the plundered gold and jewels hidden there were taken, and the bags of coin collected from villages in Rajah Jai Singh's country, were extracted from their waist-cloths. It was estimated that 1,500 to 2,000 Mahrattas lost their lives on that day.† This, the first armed Mahratta appearance at Dihli, where in forty years' time they were to be lords and masters, was not of happy augury. They were not accustomed to street fighting and were, no doubt, overtaken by irresistible panic.‡ Khafi Khan draws the moral that this disgraceful rout was a special interposition of Providence. For, if it had not happened, would they not, for ages to come, have boasted that they had gone to Dihli, the imperial capital, and there deposed and imprisoned the Emperor of Hindustan? If Khafi Khan, poor man, had lived a little longer, he would have seen events that turned such a boast into no more than the sober truth!

During this outbreak reports spread that, on learning the intention to seize Farrukh-siyar, Maharajah Ajit Singh, unable to restrain himself any longer, had plunged a dagger into Qutb-ul-mulk several times, and had despatched him. Although everybody knew that, except the Sayyids' partisans, there was no one in the fort, and therefore no one likely to do such an

---

* See Blochmann, *Ain*, i. 50. It was a sort of large fan of oval shape at the end of a long handle.

† Grant Duff 199, and Briggs 178, say 1,500; Warid, 158*a*, 2,000. Khafi Khan, ii. 811, says he himself was present as a spectator, and gives the number as 1,500; Mirza Muhammad has 3,000 to 4,000; Kamraj, 66, four hundred.

‡ Warid, 158*a*; Muhammad Qasim, 244; Khafi Khan, ii. 811, 814; Mirza Muhammad, 453; Kamwar Khan, 193.

act, people were ready, in the confusion and uproar, to believe that anything was possible. It was confidently asserted that Nizam-ul-mulk had come out to rescue his sovereign, but he was far too prudent to make any such attempt. He stood with his Mughals in the enclosure of the fruit market until he heard that Farrukh-siyar had been seized, and thereupon withdrew to his house. Other nobles who still clung to Farrukh-siyar's cause, appeared in the streets and turned towards the palace, prepared to fight their way to it. These were Itiqad Khan, Mir Mushrif,* Islam Khan, Mukhlis Khan, Munim Khan, Sayyid Salabat Khan and Saif-ullah Khan Bakhshi, with some of the *Wala-shahi* ; Samsam-ud-daulah did not appear in person, but sent his men. Manohar, captain of artillery, with two or three thousand of the Emperor's artillery, also took the field. This group advanced as far as the Dihli Gate of the fort and the square of the late Sadullah Khan, just south of that gate. Aghar Khan with his Mughals also appeared on the west side of the fort, in front of the Lahori Gate, and wished to take part in the resistance to the Sayyids. But the gates were shut in his face and he was obliged to beat a retreat. In another direction, that of the Chandni Chauk, appeared Ghazi-ud-din Khan (Ahmad Beg) and Sadat Khan, the Emperor's father-in-law.

The Sayyids advanced their artillery from its position near the imperial stables, and threw several shot from *rahkalas* and *dhamkas* in the direction of their assailants, and more than once the cannon over the Dihli Gate were discharged against the men debouching from the Faiz Bazar ; while Sayyid Dilawar Ali Khan, the Sayyids' Bakhshi held the Dihli Gate.† The fight went on for forty minutes. Sadat Khan had pushed on as far as the *chabutra* or police office in the Chandni Chauk, where he received gunshot and sword wounds which forced

* Mir Mushrif, once darogha of artillery in Husain Ali Khan's service, had been lately taken into the Emperor's employ (Khafi Khan, ii. 812). Having quarrelled with Husain Ali Khan, he left the Dakhin, and arrived at Dihli on the 26th Rabi II. 1130 H. (28th March, 1718).

† For Faiz Bazar, Dihli Gate of fort, Chauk Sadullah Khan, see Carr Stephens, 244, 245, 246, 247. Sadullah Khan, *Wazir* of Shah Jahan, died 2nd Jamadi II. 1066 H. (17th April, 1656), *M. U.* ii. 448.

him to retire.* His son, a youth, was made a prisoner and taken to Husain Ali Khan. Ghazi-ud-din Khan (Ahmad Beg) fought his best, but he had no disciplined troops, and the few followers that he led, after interchanging a blow or two with the other side, took to their heels. He, too, not being reinforced by other nobles, was forced in the end to beat a retreat to his house, fighting as he went.

About midday the news spread that Farrukh-siyar was a prisoner, and that another Prince had been raised to the throne. Then the drums beat within the palace to announce the new reign. In spite of this, the opposing nobles stood their ground and resisted until the afternoon. When at last they saw that there was no further hope of success, and as the saying is, "to beat cold iron is profitless," they dispersed full of apprehension to their homes. The disturbance now ceased. From the square (*chauk*) of Sadullah Khan to the Dihli Gate the houses were plundered; while the imperial stables which surrounded the palace were set on fire, and some of the horses were burned. With these exceptions the city did not suffer.†

SEC. 39.—FARRUKH-SIYAR IS MADE A PRISONER AND DEPOSED.

From early dawn on the 9th Rabi II. (28th February, 1719) Qutb-ul-mulk continued to send messengers to persuade Farrukh-siyar to come out and take his seat on the throne as usual. Farrukh-siyar refused absolutely to set foot outside the female apartments. Indeed, he made use of some very florid language. He swore that, by the blood of Taimur, the world-conqueror, which flowed in his veins, he would so scourge these rebels, that for years to come their fate should be a tale on the people's tongue, and a warning to traitors intending to follow their example. Qutb-ul-mulk knew not what further pretext to devise to win his consent to reappear, in order that directions might issue for the degradation and seizure of the Sayyids' enemies. Then arose the outbreak in the streets and urgent

* Sadat Khan died the same night of these wounds.

† Mirza Muhammad 455; Khafi Khan, ii. 809, 812, 813; *Ahwal-ul-khawaqin*, 144*b*, 145*a*; Muhammad Qasim, 245; Kamwar Khan, 194; Kamraj, 66*b*, 67*a*; Shiu Das, 26*a*.

messages arrived from Husain Ali Khan. It was plain that force must be resorted to.*

During the night Farrukh-siyar had hidden somewhere or another in one of the small rooms or closets of the palace. His guard was formed of the Qalmaq or Turki women servants, armed with sword and shield. It is said that during the night Qutb-ul-mulk, with the approval of Sayyid Khan Jahan and Nawab Auliya, sent several messages to his younger brother to the effect that, all the offices connected with the person of the sovereign being in their hands, it did not much matter if they maintained the throne, the crown, and the coinage untouched in Farrukh-siyar's name. Seated in consultation with Husain Ali Khan, were Ikhlas Khan, Sayyid Hashim Ali Khan, and most important of all, Muhammad Amin Khan. For the time being the last-named had declared himself openly on the side of the Sayyids, because of his anger with Farrukh-siyar for sending him against his will to Malwa, and then refusing him an audience upon his unauthorized return to Dihli. It is said that when Husain Ali Khan and Muhammed Amin Khan first met, the former changed colour, thinking that the man was his enemy. But he recovered his equanimity as soon as his visitor addressed thus: "O Nawab, why have you not ere this finished with this son of a Kashmiri. You must write a note asking the elder Nawab to depose him." The three men now united in calling for Farrukh-siyar's removal. The favourable moment, they said, would never recur ; if not taken advantage of, their lives were lost. Besides, had not Farrukh-siyar forfeited all right to the throne by his want of discretion and his promotion of low fellows?† While this discussion was in progress a note arrived from Samsam-ud-daulah urging them to delay no longer, but seat another Emperor on the throne. Husain Ali Khan sent an answer to his brother's letter in these terms: "If you cannot do the business, come out of the palace and let me enter, and

---

* Warid, 157*b;* Khafi Khan, 813, 814; Khush-hal Chand, 413*b*, 414*a*.

† Khush-hal Chand states that a *Mahzarnama* or declaration, for the deposition of Farrukh-siyar was drawn up, and then signed and sealed by all except a few of the nobles. It was brought to Ajit Singh on the last day, and things having gone so far, he had no help for it and signed also.

I will settle it." Within the palace Maharajah Ajit Singh also urgently importuned for the deposition of Farrukh-siyar; and it was decided that one of the imprisoned scions of the house of Taimur should be brought forth and placed upon the throne. There is a local tradition among the Sayyids of Barha that someone proposed to set aside the imperial house altogether, the throne being transferred to one of the two brothers.* This would have been in accordance with Eastern precedent, where the successful rebel usually claims the crown as the prize of victory. And the virtues of the Mughal line as an instrument of rule being obviously expended, it would probably have been better, in most ways, if the sovereignty had been usurped by a newer and more vigorous family. Probably the difficulty, an insurmountable one as it proved, was to decide which brother should reign, neither being ready to give way to the other.†

A consultation was held in order to select a Prince, and the lot fell upon Prince Bidar Dil, son of Bidar Bakht, grandson of Alamgir, who was known as having the best understanding among all the Princes. By the time that this had been decided, the outbreak in the city, as we have already related, had occurred. The case seemed urgent and the greatest haste was made. Qutb-ul-mulk sent his own master of the ceremonies, Qadir Dad Khan, and a number of the Jodhpur Rajah's personal attendants, or *Bhandaris*,‡ to bring out the Prince selected. When these messengers arrived at the door of the Prince's dwelling, where also were assembled the sons of Prince Rafi-ush-shan, the women jumped to the conclusion that, having made Farrukh-siyar a prisoner, the Sayyids had now sent men to slay all the Princes of the royal house, and thus make clear their own way to the throne. Under this impression, they barred the door, locked it on the inside, and hid the Prince in

* The traditional account is that the idea was broached by Jalal Khan of Jalalabad (Muzaffarnagar district). But he was dead; it might have been suggested, however, by his second son, Dindar Khan, who was present at Dihli.

† Kamraj, 67*a*; Yahya Khan, 125*a*; Muhammad Qasim Lahori, 239; Khush-hal Chand, 413*b*; *Ahwal-ul-khawaqin*, 145*b*, 146*a*.

‡ *Bhandari*, a house-steward, treasurer, purveyor (Shakespear, 411).

a store-cupboard. In vain the messengers called out: "We have come to escort Prince Bidar Dil, and place him on the throne." Not a word was listened to, and the men were repelled with sticks and stones. As there was no possibility of searching or delaying longer, for the danger that the rioters in the street might get the upper hand increased every moment, the Nawab ordered a band of men with hatchets to break in the door. On forcing an entrance, their first effort was to find the particular Prince who had been named to sit upon the throne. But his mother wept and wailed beyond measure, nor could they find the key of the store-room. In despair, they turned towards the sons of Rafi-ush-shan, and out of them picked Rafi-ud-darjat. Although he was the youngest of the three, in intelligence and judgment he was found to excel his brothers. This youth was brought as he had been found, wearing his ordinary clothes, his only ornament being a necklace of pearls, taken by Qutb-ul-mulk from his own neck. The Nawab holding one hand and Ajit Singh the other, they seated him straightway on the jewelled peacock throne, which two days before had been brought out into the *Diwan-i-am* for the celebration of the *Nauroz*, or vernal festival. Those present offered their gifts, as is usual upon a fresh accession. Then, under the supervision and control of Najm-ud-din Ali Khan, Rajah Ratan Chand, Rajah Bakht Mal and Dindar Khan, son of Jalal Khan, at the head of a number of Afghans, were sent into the female apartments to arrest the deposed Emperor. [K. K. 814-816.]

These men, some four hundred altogether, rushed tumultuously into the imperial apartments. A number of the women seized weapons and tried to resist; some were slain and some wounded. The weeping and lamentation of the ladies passed unheeded. The door of the small room where he was hiding having been broken in, the wretched Farrukh-siyar, despairing of life, came out armed with sword and shield, and dealt several blows at the stony-hearted ruffians. In that dire extremity these fruitless and untimely efforts availed him nothing. His mother, his wife, his daughter and other ladies grouped themselves around him and tried to shelter him. The shrieking

women were pushed on one side with scant ceremony. The men surrounded him and hemmed him in ; they then laid hold of him by the hand and neck, his turban fell off, and with every mark of indignity he was dragged and pushed from his retreat. It is said that Hifz-ullah Khan, (subsequently known as Murtaza Khan) and Murid Khan,* in order to ingratiate themselves with Qutb-ul-mulk, went with those hard-hearted men, thus in one moment wiping out the loyal services done to the line of Taimur, for more than a century past, by their grandfather and father, and at the same time oblivious of their having been themselves the fallen man's companions and confidants. It was pitiful to see this strong man, perhaps the handsomest and most powerfully-built of Babar's race that had ever occupied the throne, dragged bareheaded and barefooted, subjected at every moment to blows and the vilest abuse, into the *Diwan-i-khas* to the presence of Qutb-ul-mulk. The Nawab opened his pen box, took out a needle used by him for applying collyrium (*surma*) to his eyes, and giving it to one of the men, ordered them to throw down their prisoner and blind him. Whatever was found in the female apartments and storehouses, or on the people of the harem—cash, clothes, gold silver and copper vessels, ornaments and jewels—all was taken, nay, even the slave-girls and the concubines were appropriated.

After the needle had been passed through the eyes, Farrukh-siyar was imprisoned in the room over the Tirpoliya, or triple gate within the fortress. It was the place to which common malefactors were sent, and had already witnessed the death of Jahandar Shah seven years before. It was a bare, dark, unfurnished hole, containing nothing but a bowl for food, a pot of water for ablutions, and a vessel with some drinking water. On reaching it he is reported to have quoted the lines :

* M. M; Kamwar Khan, 194. Hifz-ullah Khan received the title of Murtaza Khan on the 29th Shaban 1131 H. and was made deputy of the Mir Atash (Kamwar Khan 206). He was a Husaini Sayyid, his name being Hifz-ullah, son of Mirza Shakr-ullah, entitled Murtaza Khan (d. 1123 H. 1711-12). He died at Shahjahanabad on the 6th Jamadi II. 1161 H. (2nd June, 1748) aged 63 years *T-i-Mhdi*. Murid Khan was rewarded with the appointment of *darogha* of the mace-bearers on the day (29th Shaban).

"Like a cypress in decay,
Such a king in such slavery." [M. M. 461, K. K. 814.]

SEC. 40.—DEATH OF FARRUKH-SIYAR.

Although it involves a slight break in the exact chronological order, it seems better to carry on Farrukh-siyar's story to his cruel and dishonoured end. The captivity he was held in appears to have been unnecessarily strict, and many anecdotes connected with it have been handed down. A few days after his accession, the new Emperor, Rafi-ud-darjat, sent a eunuch to inquire about his predecessor's condition, Farrukh-siyar invoked a blessing on his head, and sent back the lines—

"Be not taken by the gardener's deceit, O nightingale,
Ere this I, too, had my nest in this garden." [Warid, 158b.]

Other verses attributed to him during his imprisonment are :

"A heart is mad with wine, give it wine,
It is consumed with fire, give it fire.
To him who asks the state of my heart,
Breathe but a sigh, give that as answer."*

Even the Sayyid soldiers who formed the guard set over him grieved to see how he was treated. For instance, during four or five days at a time, he would be deprived of water for necessary ablutions. Unsuitable food had brought on diarrhœa, and having no water, he was forced to tear off pieces from his clothes to cleanse himself. Day and night he had passed his time in reciting the *Quran*, which he knew by heart. Even this distraction was denied him, for in his polluted state, it was unlawful to recite the words of the holy volume.

It is believed that, although a needle had been passed through his eyes, Farrukh-siyar was still able to see. In spite of all that had happened, he was still eager for power and believed his restoration possible. He made repeated overtures to the Sayyids, promising to leave all power in their hands, if they would only release him and replace him on the throne. Then he tried to win over Abdullah Khan Afghan, one of his jailors. He promised this man the rank of *Haft-hazari* (7,000)

---

* *Mirat-i-Aftab-numa*, B. M. Addl., 16,697, *f.* 216*a*. In *Bayan-i-waqi*, p. 175, and Gladwin, p. 194, the words are different.

after he should have conducted him in safety to Rajah Jai Singh. The Afghan betrayed him to the Sayyids. People in the city spread about the story that Tahavvur Khan, *Wala-shahi*, Ruh-ullah Khan (son of Khanazad Khan) and many others were coming with Rajah Jai Singh at the head of a mighty army to deliver the captive. Popular rumour asserted that Farrukh-siyar could still see, and that in secret conclave the two brothers had repented, and would replace the deposed sovereign on the throne. After doing this, they would resign place and office, assume the garb of mendicants, and return to Barha, or make a pilgrimage to the holy places. This was openly spoken of. Then Hashim Ali Khan Dakhini said secretly to Husain Ali Khan, "I salute your lordship: Disease is dealt with in one of two ways—you either bear it, or remove the afflicted part. But once you have resorted to treatment, there is no hope of recovery till the offending principle is expelled." The Sayyids then made up their mind to remove Farrukh-siyar. They sent for Sidi Yasin Khan (son of Sidi Qasim, Fulad Khan, once *kotwal* of Dihli), and after promising him a reward said: "Farrukh-siyar took your father's life without cause, you have a legal right of retaliation, put your hand on your dagger and slay him." The young man refused. Had not his father and his family been the slaves of that royal house? To kill a master who for some supposed fault took a slave's life, was not permissible.

As no one else was willing, they were forced to act themselves. They began by supplying Farrukh-siyar with bitter and oversalted dishes, but without effect. Slow poison was then tried for a time. Farrukh-siyar now made use of violent language, and cursed the Sayyids in the most virulent terms. Their patience being at an end, they sent executioners into the prison to strangle their victim. In spite of a violent resistance, these men effected their purpose, beating the ex-Emperor on the hands till he let go the strap that they had tied round his neck. To make sure, he was stabbed several times in the abdomen. This happened on the night between the 8th and 9th Jamadi II. 1131 H. (27th-28th April, 1719). There is a somewhat apocryphal story told in the *Siyar-ul-mutakherin* as

to the mode of Farrukh-siyar's death, by which the direct blame for it is removed from the shoulders of the Sayyids. Farrukh-siyar is supposed to have evaded his guardians and made an attempt to escape. He passed from one terrace roof to another, and was already at some distance before his absence was detected. The Afghan officer in charge searched for his prisoner, found him hiding in the shadow of a wall, and brought him back, ending by giving him an unmerciful beating. Farrukh-siyar, stung to the quick by his disgrace, ran at the wall, dashed his head against it, and fractured his skull. The evidence for this story seems insufficient, and the author's animus, as Sayyid and Shia defending other Sayyids and Shias, is sufficiently obvious here as elsewhere.*

On the following day, 10th Jamadi II. 1131 H. (29th April, 1719), the body was thrown down on a mat within the fort for purposes of identification, and the blackness of the face showed that Farrukh-siyar had been strangled ; there were also several cuts and wounds to be seen. The body was then prepared for the grave and the bier brought out. Dilawar Ali Khan, paymaster of Husain Ali Khan's household, and Sayyid Ali Khan, brother of Abdullah Khan's paymaster, were sent to carry out the burial rites. They were followed by all the eunuchs, some of the *mansabdars*, and a part of the State equipage. When the body was brought to the Akbarabadi mosque,† it was received by 15,000 to 20,000 men from the camp and bazars. After recital of the prayers over the dead, Abdul-ghafur lifted the corpse and carried it out, to the accompaniment of weeping and wailing from the crowd. As the procession passed, lamentations arose from every roof and door. Men and women, old and young, rich and poor, shed tears for the departed Emperor and cursed his oppressors. The streets and lanes were rendered impassable by the crowds. The rabble and the mendicants, who had received alms from Farrukh-siyar, followed his bier, rending their garments and

* Text, i. 42; Qasim, 259; Khafi Khan, 819. In the *Bayan-i-waqi*, 175, poison is alleged.

† It stands in the Faiz Bazar, that is, on the road from the Dihli Gate of the fort to the south or Dihli Gate of the city.

throwing ashes on their heads, and as it passed, the women on the roofs raised their cry of mourning, and flung stones and bricks upon the servants and officers of the Sayyids. The body was deposited in the crypt of Humayun's tomb, in the place where a few years before the body of Farrukh-siyar's father, Azim-ush-shan, had rested before its departure for Aurangabad. The bread and the copper coins, brought for distribution to the poor, were rejected by the crowd with scorn ; and on the third day, the rabble and professional beggars assembled on the platform where the body had been washed, and there cooked and distributed a large quantity of food, and until day dawned sang funeral laments.*

For many a day, no begger deigned to appeal for charity to any passing noble who had been concerned in Farrukh-siyar's death. Zafar Khan's liberal gifts of bread and sweetmeats were far famed ; but these, too, were refused. The beggars said that in their mouths was still the flavour of the kindness bestowed by the martyred Emperor, adding, "May he be poisoned who takes a morsel bearing upon it the mark of those men." They made collections from artisans and shopkeepers, and distributed alms of food every Thursday at Humayun's tomb. If any great noble passed along the roads or through the bazars, they pursued him with shouts and harsh reproaches. Especially was this the case with regard to Maharajah Ajit Singh and his followers, so that they were forced to reach *darbar* by the most out-of-the-way routes. The Rajputs raged inwardly, and fiercely laid hand on sword or dagger. But who can fight a whole people? At length, several spoon-sellers and bazar touts having been killed by the Rathors, the habit of abusing them was abandoned. [Qasim, 262.]

SEC. 41.—THE CONDUCT OF THE SAYYIDS CONSIDERED.

On few subjects does there seem to have been such violently contradictory views expressed as upon the conduct of the Sayyids at this juncture. Writers who are themselves Sayyids and Shias defend their action as the only course that

* Khafi Khan, 820; Kamwar Khan, 200; Qasim, 260.

could have been pursued. But, as the two brothers soon fell from power and lost their lives, the partisans of their rivals and successors have not hesitated to denounce them, and hold them up to the execration of mankind. The two extremes are even embodied by rival poets in chronograms composed for the occasion. Mirza Abdul Qadir *Bedil* wrote:

"Didst thou see what they did to the mighty king?
A hundred harsh and cruel deeds they did, unthinking:
I asked Wisdom for the date. She answered:
'The Sayyids behaved disloyally to their king.' "

To this Mir Azmat-ullah Bilgrami *Bekhabar*, using the same form and rhymes, replied:

"To the infirm monarch they did what they ought,
What a physician should do, that they did;
By light of Wisdom's lamp this date was prescribed:
'The Sayyids treated him as the case required.' "

It is impossible, I think, to accept to the full either conclusion. To none but extreme believers in the divinity that doth hedge a king, will it seem wrong to have removed from power such a worthless thing as Farrukh-siyar. But the way of doing what had become almost a necessity was unduly harsh, too utterly regardless of the personal dignity of the fallen monarch. Blinding a deposed king was the fixed usage; for that the Sayyids are not specially to blame. But the severity of the subsequent confinement was excessive; and the taking of the captive's life was an extremity entirely uncalled for. As Shah Nawaz Khan says, the Sayyids were forced into action by a regard for their own lives and honour. At the same time, as he points out, the nobler course would have been for them to have abandoned the struggle, and contented themselves with some distant Government, or they might have quitted the service of the State and proceeded on a pilgrimage to Mecca. "But it is not in the power of mortal man to rise superior to that worst of evil passions, the love of power and place." The pious Muhammadan consoles himself by the reflection that God in his good purposes saw fit to impose expiation on the two brothers, by their own speedy death and the destruction of all their power; and thus in His mercy He allowed them to atone

for whatever sin they had committed, and did not exclude them from final redemption. Their own violent deaths sufficed to save their souls. [*M.-U.* i. 321, 344-345.]

SECTION 42.—CHARACTER OF FARRUKH-SIYAR.

The most prominent element of Farrukh-siyar's character was weakness. He was strong neither for evil nor for good. Morally it may be indefensible to try and rid yourself, at the earliest moment, of the men to whom you owe your throne. But as a matter of practice and precedent it was otherwise. Many of his predecessors, including the greatest of them, Akbar, had been guilty of similar ingratitude. Thus, according to the morality of his day and country, Farrukh-siyar would have committed no exceptional crime by dismissing, or even killing the Sayyids. Previous rulers, however, men of vigour and resolution, when they found the greatness of some subject becoming dangerous to themselves, acted with promptitude and decision. The crisis was soon over, and though the individual might be destroyed the State did not suffer. How different with Farrukh-siyar! Still, in spite of his inherent weakness, he might have shown himself amiably inoffensive ; he might have left his powerful ministers to pursue peacefully their own way, contenting himself with the name, while they kept the reality of power. Instead of this, he was for ever letting "I dare not" wait upon "I would." For seven years the State was in a condition of unstable equilibrium, and it is not too much to say that Farrukh-siyar prepared for himself the fate which finally overtook him. Feeble, false, cowardly, contemptible, it is impossible either to admire or regret him. According to Khush-hal Chand, [410*a*] Farrukh-siyar in the sixth year of his reign was forced, in consequence of the abscesses which troubled him, to submit to an operation that rendered him impotent. Physical degeneration, it is suggested, may have been one of the causes of the irresolution, and even cowardice, which he displayed during the final struggle with the Sayyids.

His most amiable qualities were profuseness and liberality, which made him the darling of the lower orders. Among his personal habits two were especially marked—a fondness for

fine clothes and for good horses. He loved gold-embroidered raiment edged with gold lace, such as the sovereign himself had never worn before. All the great nobles imitated him and began to wear what pleased their master. Thus he was at any rate mourned by the lace-sellers and the indigent. As for horses, he chose them with care, for their fine paces, their colour, and their great speed. Several thousand horses stood in his private stables, and a select number of them were tethered under the balcony window of the room where he slept. Thus he was able from time to time to see them from this window, or the roof of the palace. Even when in bed asleep, if a horse rose up and lay down two or three times, he would be roused and enquire the reason, calling both the animal and its groom by their names. The *Khan-saman* or Lord Steward had strict orders about their food. Once Muhammad Yar Khan, when holding that office, reported that the quantities issued were in excess of the regulations. Farrukh-siyar directed him to pay up to the amount of one gold coin a day for each of these horses, and not to report until that amount was exceeded. [Khush-hal 410*a*.]

In the *Ahwal-ul-khawaqin* is a passage describing the early intimacy between Farrukh-siyar and Khan Dauran (Khwaja Asim), where we are told that the Prince was passionately fond of wrestling, archery, horsemanship, polo-playing, and other soldierly exercises. His devotion to hunting and the chase is shown by the regularity with which, throughout his reign, he left Dihli to hunt or shoot in the imperial preserves situated at various distances round the city. [*Ahwal* 49*b*.]

The only well-known edifice constructed in his reign was a third arch of marble to the mosque at the Qutb, added in 1130 H. It bears the inscription.

Maurid-i-lutf o inayat shud wala-janab,
Khusrau, Farrukh-siyar, shahanshahi, malik-i-rikab,
Sakht az rue iradat o zi rasukh-i-itiqad
Masjid-i-zeba-bina o sijdah-gahe shekh o shabb
Ba sarosh-i-ghaib hatif guft dar gosh-i-khirad
Sal-i-tarikh-i-binaesh ; "bait-i-rabbi-i-mustajab."
(1130)

APPENDIX

REIGN OF FARRUKH-SIYAR.

A.—*Farrukh-siyar's age.*

Authorities differ much as to the year of Farrukh-siyar's birth, nor do they altogether agree in the month or the day of the month. The earliest year is 1093 H., the latest 1098 H. The correct year ought to be determined, I think, by the two chronograms composed by Jiwan Ram, father of Khush-hal Chand. It is only fair to suppose that a man would not sit down to compose one of these poetical memorials, and then deliberately import into it an erroneous date. I therefore accept the year 1094 H. as correct; while for the day and month, the best authority is the direct statement of Ijad, the Court historian, namely, the 19th Ramzan. I cannot understand, however, how this writer came to give the year 1096 instead of 1094 H. Mirza Muhammad, who is nearly always to be trusted, gives an age at death which confirms Khush-hal Chand's date (1094).

B.—*Length of the reign.*

Farrukh-siyar proclaimed himself Emperor at Patna on the 29th Safar 1124 H. (6th March, 1712), soon after he had heard of his father's, Azim-ush-shan's, defeat and death at Lahor. The first day of the reign, according to the official calculation, was fixed from this coronation at Patna, and Jahandar Shah's reign was treated as never having existed. The victory over Jahandar Shah took place near Agra on the 13th Zul Hijja 1124 H. (10th December, 1712). Counting from the first of these dates, the reign up to the 8th Rabi II. 1131 H., lasted 7 (lunar) years, 1 month, and 9 days; or from the latter date (13th Zul Hijja), to the same day, 6 (lunar) years, 3 months, and 25 days.

C.—*Style and title in life, and after death.*

His titles are nowhere given with completeness. He is called either Abul Muzaffar Muin-ud-din, Mhd. Farrukh-siyar, Badshah, or simply Muin-ud-din Muhammad Farrukh-siyar Badshah; some writers style him Jalal-ud-din, Muhammad Farrukh-siyar, Badshah. After his death he is referred to as

the *Shahid-i-marhum*, "the Martyr received into mercy," although I know of no formal statement that this description had been officially assigned to him. As other sovereigns have claimed to be above grammar, so Farrukh-siyar asserted a similar right over the calendar by changing the name of Wednesday from Fourth Day (*chahar shamba*) to Auspicious Day (*Humayun shamba*), and that of Thursday from Fifth Day to Fortunate Day (*mubarik shamba*). From the date of the victory over Jahandar Shah, these days are so referred to in Ijad's history of the reign. [*T. M.*, Warid 148*a*, Ijad 106*a*, Kamwar 137.]

D.—*Coinage*.

His coins bore the distich :—

Sikka zad, az fazl-i-Haq, bar sim o zar,
Padshah-i-bahr-o-bar, Farrukh-siyar.

"By the grace of the True God, struck coin on silver and gold. The Emperor of land and sea, Farrukh-siyar."

A parody of these lines was current at the time in Dihli :—

Sikka zad bar gandum o moth o mattar
Badshah-i-dana-kash, Farrukh-siyar.

"Struct coin on wheat, lentils and peas,
The grain-gathering Emperor, Farrukh-siyar."

There are 116 coins of this sovereign in the three collections, at the British Museum, in Lahor, and in Calcutta ; of gold, 18 (14 of the large and 4 of the small issue), and of silver, 98 (circular 97, square, that is, the *dirham-i-sharai* or legal *dirham*, 1). One hundred and twelve are dated by the regnal year. Each year of the reign is represented, 1st (8 coins), 2nd (17), 3rd (9), 4th (7), 5th (19), 6th (19), 7th (29), 8th (4). All except 6 coins (3 places not identified, 2 forged, 1 mint illegible) can be classed under the subahs in which their mints were situated. These 110 coins belong to 23 mints in 15 out of the 21 subahs—those unrepresented being Kabul, Kashmir, Ajmer, Allahabad, Bidar and Berar. The number of coins from each mint is Lahor (16), Multan (7), Tattha (1), Dihli, 33 (Shahjahanabad 27, Bareli 2, Sarhind 4), Gujarat, 7 (Surat 7), Akbarabad, 11 (Akbarabad

6, Etawa 3, Gwaliyar 2), Oudh 1, (Lakhnau 1), Malwa 2 (Ujjain 2), Bihar 8, (Patna Azimabad 8), Bengal 7, (Murshidabad 6, Jahangirnagar Dhaka 1), Orissa, 3 (Katak 3), Khandesh, 4 (Burhanpur 4), Aurangabad (1), Bijapur (1), Haidarabad, 8 (Arkat 3, Adoni 1, Chinapatan 3, Guti 1). This distribution represents the facts fairly well: Kabul was practically lost, but the absence of coins from Kashmir, Ajmer, Allahabad and two of the Dakhin subahs, is difficult to account for.

The square silver "legal drachma" or *dirham-i-sharai* is a curious coin, and to all appearance unique. By its weight it holds the proportion to a Rupee of about one-fourth (exactly it is ·23, or 3 annas and 8 pie, taking the standard Rupee to have weighed 176 grains). From an analysis of the weights of the 97 circular Rupees, I find more than half (54) range between 175 and 177 grains, the lowest weight (1) is 166·5 and the highest (4) is 187 grains. These latter coins come from the Katak and Murshidabad mints, and are probably a local variation. The diameters range from ·80 of an inch to 1·1 inch ; there are 60 of ·85, 34 of ·90, 11 of ·95 and 9 of 1·0. Judging from the above facts, it is probable that the standard Rupee was 176 grains in weight, and ·90 of an inch in diameter.

E.—*Farrukh-siyar's wives.*

We hear of only two principal wives—(1) Fakhr-un-nissa Begam, daughter of Sadat Khan ; (2) the Rathor Princess, the daughter of Maharajah Ajit Singh, whose Hindu name seems to have been Rai Indar Kunwar.* The father of the former was one Mir Muhammad Taqqi, entitled first Hasan Khan and then Sadat Khan, son of Sadat Khan. He is called a Husaini by race, and the family came from the Persian province of Mazandaran, on the south shore of the Caspian Sea ; it had emigrated to India after having been for a time settled at Isfahan.† He married a daughter of Masum Khan Safawi, and if this lady was the mother of Fakhr-un-nissa, this Safawi

* *Tawarikh-i-Marwar* of Murari Das, B. M. *Or. 5838*, vol. 2. *fol.* 80*b*.

† The *Masir-ul-umara*, ii. 524, calls him Mir Buzurg-i-Marashi. I do not know the explanation of these epithets.

connection would account for the daughter's selection as a Prince's bride.* Sadat Khan was wounded on the 9th Rabi II. 1131 H., the day of Farrukh-siyar's deposition, and died two or three days afterwards. He was over eighty years of age. The following table shows his family:—

Sadat Khan, d. 1131 H.

Ali Naqi Khan, d. 9th Rabi II. 1126 H.	Mhd Mahdi, Farzand Khan, d. 28th Shaban 1128 H. aged 33. (1)	Saif Khan, d. 8th Muharram 1150 H. (1)	Salabat Khan (Sadat Khan Zulfiqar Jang) d. after 1166 H. (2)	Ata-ullah Khan.	Fakhhr-un-nissa Begam married to Farrukh-siyar
			Daughter = Mhd Shah		Daughter = Mhd Shah.

(1) *T-i-Mhdi* and Kamwar Khan, 166.

(2) *Masir-ul-umara*, ii. 524.

The daughter of Ajit Singh was married on the 29th Ramzan 1127 H. (27th September, 1715) in the fourth year of the reign. She seems to have had no issue. After Farrukh-siyar's deposition and death, she was brought out of the imperial harem on the 29th Shaban 1131 H. (16th July, 1719), and made over to her father with the whole of her property. She returned to Jodhpur and we hear no more of her.

Another wife or concubine, the daughter of the hill-rajah of Kashtwar, entered the harem on the 24th Rajab 1129 H. (3rd July, 1717.)†

* *T-i-Mhdi*, year 1128 H.; *Masir-ul-umara*, ii. 670-76; Mirza Muhammad, 174. The *Masir-ul-umara* iii., calls her Guhar-un-nissa Begam.

† Kamwar Khan, 172-3; Thornton, 506; *Kishtwar*, a town on the southern slope of the Himalayas, situated in a small plain on the left bank of the Chenab, 5,000 feet above the sea; Lat. 33° 18', Long. 75° 46'.

F.—*Farrukh-siyar's children.*

The following table shows all the children that are recorded :—

Farrukh-siyar

M. Farkhunda-siyar, Jahangir Shah	Jahan Murad Shah.	Badshah Begam.
(1)	(2)	(3)

(1) Jahangir Shah was born at Patna on the 18th Zul Qada 1123 H. (27th December, 1711).* He died of small-pox a few months afterwards, on the 17th Rabi II. 1125 (12th May, 1713).†

(2) Jahan Murad Shah was born on the 16th Zul Qada 1129 H.‡ (October 21st, 1717) and died on the 22nd Jamadi II. 1130 H. (May 22nd, 1718.) The mother was Sadat Khan's daughter.

(3) Badshah Begam. This child was also born of Sadat Khan's daughter. She married the Emperor Muhammad Shah in 1133 H. (1720-1) and was known as *Malika-uz-zamani*, "Queen of the Age." She took a prominent part in securing the accession of Ahmad Shah in 1161 H. and died in 1203 H. (1788-9).§

G.—*Note on Mirza Jafar, Zatali, Narnoli.*

The poetical title of Zatali, under which Mirza Jafar wrote, comes from *zatal*, Hindi, "chattering, quibbling, idle-talk," (Shakespear, 1212). There are several printed editions of his works. A copy of the edition of 1853, now in the Königliche Bibliothek at Berlin, belonged to Dr. Sprenger (see his Catalogue, p. 8, No. 1638.) Beale, p. 189, says he was executed by Farrukh-siyar's orders for parodying the couplet on the coin of that Emperor. The historians make no mention of this ;

* B. M. *Or. 1690, fol.* 156*b*.

† Kamwar Khan 135. The B. M. *Or. 1690, fol.* 164*b* says he died in Jamadi I.

‡ Mirza Muhammad, 328 and 358. Kamwar Khan has 15th instead of 16th.

§ Francklin, *Shah Aulam*, 205.

but the fact is possible, when we remember that Abdul-jalil Bilgrami, *waqia-navis* of Siwistan was recalled, and deprived of his appointment, for a very innocent report. There are some further details about Zatali in a little Urdu work *Zar-i-Jafari, yani siwanih-i-umri-i-Mir Jafar, Zatalli*, by "Hindustani Speculator" (published by Jan Muhammad and Muhammad Ismail, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahor, 1890, 36 pp. litho.). From this we learn that his ancestors came to India with Humayun, when that monarch returned to it and fought Hemu. They obtained a *jagir* and were in favour during Jahangir's reign, but in Shah Jahan's time the grant was resumed, and the poet's father Mir Abbas, was forced to open a shop. Jafar is said to have been born about the time of Alamgir's accession (1658). The other children were two daughters and a son, Safdar ; the latter, the youngest of the family, being about five-and-a-half years younger than his brother. Their father died when all of them were young. One Mir Sarwar sent Jafar to school along with his own son, Akbar. In the end Sarwar embezzled the family property ; and they were reduced to poverty again. Jafar was over sixty when he died, but no year is given. In one of his *rubaat* in his *Kulliyat* he says that when he wrote it he was over sixty. The following Persian lines in praise of tobacco are by him :—

Turfah-i-shaghle shaghal-i-tambaku,
Kih zin shaghal gham faru gardad :
Ham-dam ast in, ba waqt-i-tanhai,
Tabai-i-badi az u niku gardad.

"Smoking tobacco is a rare pastime,
An occupation decreasing gloom ;
A friend it is in time of solitude,
It is a help to a bad digestion."

But his more characteristic style is a macaronic mixture of Persian and Hindi.

CHAPTER V

RAFI-UD-DARJAT AND RAFI-UD-DAULAH (1719)

SEC. 1.—EVENTS CONNECTED WITH THE ACCESSION.

The new Emperor, a consumptive youth of twenty years of age, was proclaimed under the style and titles of Abul-barakat, Sultan Shams-ud-din, Muhammad Rafi-ud-darjat, Badshah, Ghazi. Within and without the palace, in every audience-hall and at every door, the Sayyids placed men of their own. A chronogram for the accession was found:

"When Rafi-ud-darjat ascended the throne
The sun appeared in the heavens out of Arafat:
The sage, seeing the lustre and strength of his wisdom,
Brought forth the date, 'His title is High of Dignity.' "*

At the first audience, on the prayer of Maharajah Ajit Singh, Rajah Bhim Singh of Kota, and Rajah Ratan Chand, the *jazya* or poll-tax, was again abolished. In other respects as few changes as possible were made, even the *Wala-shahis* or personal troops of the late sovereign being retained in the service. The object was to dispel anxiety and restore order without delay. Muhammad Amin Khan was maintained in his post of second Bakhshi, Zafar Khan Roshan-ud-daulah, replaced Saif-ullah Khan in that of third Bakhshi, and the office of fourth Bakhshi was left in abeyance. For seven days there was much confusion, and few men attended the imperial audience-hall; the people generally stood aloof, and also many of the officials. Nizam-ul-mulk kept close at home, but his cousin Muhammad Amin Khan was, in a way, friendly to the Sayyids; and Samsam-ud-daulah "resorting to fox-like tactics" came over to their party.†

The distant *subahs* were left in the same hands as before, with a few exceptions, special arrangements being made for Malwa and Kabul. Sarbuland Khan had been nominated to

---

* *Jam-i-jam*, and *Miftah* 304; Khafi Khan, 816; M. M. 462.

† Khafi Khan 817; Kamwar 197; *Ahwal-ul-khawaqin* 146*a*, 152*b*.

the latter province some months before, and had gone one or two stages on his journey. On learning that Farrukh-siyar had been deposed, he returned by himself to Dihli, and his appointment having been confirmed, he left again on the 19th Rabi II. (10th March, 1719). There remained Nizam-ul-mulk, and it was urgent that he should be induced to quit the capital. The Sayyids feared mischief from the Mughals, the strongest in numbers and influence of any of the numerous groups into which their opponents were divided. At the last moment Muhammad Amin Khan had elected to take their side against Farrukh-siyar; but Nizam-ul-mulk, as his habit was, had declined to declare himself. The Government of Patna had been assigned to him on the 18th Rabi I. (7th February, 1719); but apparently he was not anxious to proceed there. Husain Ali Khan, as usual, was for the employment of violent measures; he thought Nizam-ul-mulk should be assassinated. Qutb-ul-mulk preferred to detach him from his friends, believing that when thus weakened, he could more easily be got rid of. Samsam-ud-daulah adhered to the latter view. The Sayyids, though good soldiers, were poor politicians; and "since a leader without wisdom is no better than a common soldier," they thus made ready the way for their own downfall.

Nizam-ul-mulk was offered Malwa. At first he declined it; and it was only upon a solemn promise of non-revocation that he accepted. He left the capital on the 24th Rabi II. (15th March, 1719), taking with him all his family and property; and although repeatedly urged to do so, he would not leave even his son to represent him at Court. He was followed by all the Mughals who had been out of employ since the fall of Mir Jumla, and he reached his head-quarters in about two months. Another change which led to future difficulties was the removal of Marahmat Khan, son of Amir Khan, from the charge of Mandu. He had given dire offence to Husain Ali Khan by neglecting to pay his respects, when the Amir-ul-umara had passed near that fortress on his way from the Dakhin to Dihli.*

---

* Kamwar 188, *Ahwal-ul-khawaqin* 152a, Shiu Das 26b.

The faujdarship of Muradabad was given to Saif-ud-din Ali Khan, younger brother of the *Wazir* ; Muhammad Riza became chief *Qazi*, Mir Khan Alamgiri was made *Sadar-us-sadur* or Grand Almoner, Diyanat Khan Khwafi (grandson of Amanat Khan) was appointed *diwan* of the *Khalsa*, and Rajah Bakht Mal made *diwan* of the *Tan*. Himmat Khan, a protégé of Qutb-ul-mulk's, was given a subordinate post connected with the audience-chamber, and entrusted with the care of the young Emperor as his tutor and guardian.

The next task was to proceed against the persons and property of Farrukh-siyar's chief adherents. Itiqad Khan (Mhd. Murad) was sent as a prisoner to Husain Ali Khan's house, his *jagirs* were resumed, and all his property confiscated. He had managed to make away with a great deal, but much was recovered. By one account, it took ten to fifteen days to remove the immense store of valuables that he had obtained through the unwise liberality of Farrukh-siyar. Itiqad Khan now disappears from our story, and ending his days in obscurity, he died at Dihli on the 12th Ramzan 1139 H. (2nd May, 1727) at the age of seventy-two years. The *jagirs* of the late Sadat Khan, father-in-law, and of Shaista Khan, maternal uncle of the late Emperor, were resumed ; as were also those of Sayyid Salabat Khan, late general of the artillery, and of Afzal Khan, the late *Sadar*. The allowances and lands of Farrukh-siyar's wife, the daughter of Maharajah Ajit Singh were not interfered with.*

A few days after the accession of the new sovereign, the Mahrattas under Balaji, the *peshwa*, who had come in Husain Ali Khan's train, received their dismissal for the Dakhin (29th Rabi II. 1131 H., 30th March, 1719), taking with them Madan Singh, the younger son of Sambhaji and some female members of his family who had been prisoners since the days

* Kamwar Khan, 199; Khafi Khan, ii. 817; Mhd. Qasim Lahori, 253; *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, year 1139 H. Sayyid Salabat Khan (afterwards Sadat Khan, Zulfiqar Jang) was the eldest son of the Sadat Khan abovenamed. He died *after* Muharram 1170 H. (September-October 1756), see *Masir-ul-umara*, ii. 524. Sayyid Afzal Khan, Sadar Jahan, died late in Rabi II. or early in Jamadi I. 1138 H. (Jan. 1725) at Shahjahanabad (*T-i-Mhdi*).

of Alamgir. The Mahrattas also took with them at this time three important documents, a grant of the *chauth* of the Dakhin provinces, one for the *sardeshmukhi* of the same, and one for the *swaraj* or hereditary States.* The first dated the 22nd Rabi II. 1131 H. (13th March, 1719), gave them one-fourth of the revenue of all the six *subahs* of the Dakhin, including the tributary States of Tanjor, Trichinopoly and Maisur. The second dated the 4th Jamadi I. (24th March, 1719) was for 10 per cent. of the remaining three-fourths of the same revenues. The *swaraj* were the territories in Shivaji's possession at the time of his death in 1681, now confirmed to his grandson with certain modifications.†

SEC. 2.—QUARREL OVER THE SPOILS.

Abdullah Khan, making use of his position within the palace and fort, had taken possession of all the buried treasure, the jewel-house, the armoury, and all the imperial establishments. He had also resumed the *jagirs* of over two-hundred of Farrukh-siyar's officers, and of the relations of Bahadur Shah and Alamgir. Within two or three days' time these were all granted afresh to his own officers and dependants. This procedure was greatly objected to by Husain Ali Khan ; and the two brothers almost came to drawing their swords upon each other. Ratan Chand, who is described as the "key of Abdullah Khan's wits," intervened with smooth words, caused the *jagirs* of the dismissed nobles to be granted to Husain Ali Khan's followers, and thus put an end to the strife. He reminded the brothers that they had lately behaved in a way to anger both

* *Chauth*, literally "one-fourth," ¼th of the revenue collections; *sardeshmukhi*, the allowances of a *sardeshmukh*, [*sar*, "chief," *desh*, "country," *mukh*, "head"] ; *swa*, "own," *raj*, "territory."

† Kamwar Khan, 499. Grant Duff (Bombay edition), 199 and note, where he says that these grants were made out in the name of Muhammad Shah. No doubt, the above dates fall in the 1st year of that reign by the official reckoning; but if the deeds were actually issued on the dates they bear, they must have been made out in the name of Rafi-ud-darjat, for Muhammad Shah's accession being then hidden in the future, the fact that at a subsequent date that accession would be ante-dated could not be known to any one.

God and man, and if they wished for their own preservation from the clutches of rival nobles, it was absolutely necessary for them to suppress all differences and act heart and soul together. If they did not act in agreement, the Mughal leaders would rend them to pieces. [Kamwar 196, K. K. 822.]

SEC. 3.—POPULAR OUTCRY AGAINST AJIT SINGH.

As already mentioned, Ajit Singh when he passed through the bazars was followed by cries of "Slayer of his son-in-law" *(damad-kush)*. Insulting words were written on pieces of paper and stuck upon the door of his house, and one day cow-bones were thrown down among the vessels he used in daily worship. The *Wazir* seized two or three Kashmiris who had been guilty of calling out abusive words when the Rajah passed them, and caused them to be paraded with ignominy seated upon asses. But the Kashmiri boys followed, and shouted that this was the fitting punishment of the faithless and evil-minded, (meaning, of Ajit Singh himself). The Rajah to escape these insults was in haste to quit Dihli. After receiving large gifts in cash and jewels, he obtained an order for returning to his Government of Gujarat (17th Jamadi II. 6th May, 1719). Within a few days, however, events occurred which hindered him from carrying out his intention.*

SEC. 4—NEKUSIYAR PROCLAIMED AT AGRA.

During the weeks which followed the deposition of Farrukh-siyar, rumours of many sorts were prevalent. Suspicion chiefly rested on Rajah Jai Singh Sawai, Rajah Chabela Ram, governor of Allahabad, and Nawab Nizam-ul-mulk, the new governor of Malwa. A combination of these three nobles was supposed to be imminent. As to the last of them, it may be doubted whether there was any sufficient ground for these assertions. The other two men were, however, notorious partizans of Farrukh-siyar, Chabela Ram and his family owing their elevation entirely to that Emperor and his father, Azim-ush-shan. In the case of those two nobles, there was undoubtedly some foundation for the popular belief. The centre

* Khafi Khan 823; Qasim 263, 264; Kamwar 202; *Siwanih-i-Khizri.*

of danger appeared to be Akbarabad, where Nekusiyar and other members of the imperial house were in prison. A pretender might be set up from among these Princes ; and against this possibility special precautions must be taken. Ghairat Khan, the Sayyids' nephew, was hurried off to his new Government, so that he might reach Agra before Nizam-ul-mulk passed through it on his way to Malwa. A new commandant, Samandar Khan, was appointed (16th Jamadi II. 1131 H., 5th May, 1719) to take charge of the fort at Agra. Much treasure was still in the vaults of that stronghold, and the new Government was anxious to obtain control of this money themselves, and prevent its falling into any one else's hands. To take charge of these hoards Dawar Dad Khan accompanied Samandar Khan ; but in addition to this ostensible errand, every one believed that he had been commissioned to blind Nekusiyar and the other Princes. On the 1st Rajab 1131 H. (19th May, 1719) word was brought to Dihli that the new commandant had been refused admission by the Agra garrison, who had set up a rival Emperor in the person of Prince Nekusiyar.*

Nekusiyar, eldest surviving son of Prince Muhammad Akbar, the fourth son of the Emperor Alamgir, was born in Shaban 1090 H. (September, October 1679). Early in Muharram 1092 H. (January 1681) Prince Akbar fled from his father's camp, and joining the Rathors, laid claim to the throne. His property was at once confiscated by Alamgir, and his wife, two sons, Nekusiyar and Mhd. Asghar, and two daughters were made prisoners. A few days afterwards Prince Akbar's family was sent off from Ajmer to Akbarabad. Here Nekusiyar had been a State prisoner ever since, and although now over forty years of age had never set foot outside the fort. His ignorance is described, no doubt with some exaggeration, as so great that when he saw a cow or horse, he asked what sort of animal it was and what it was called. [*M. A.* 202-203.]

Accounts vary as to the part taken in the plot by Safi Khan,

---

* Kamwar Khan, 202; Shiu Das, 26*b*; Khafi Khan, 827.

the displaced qiladar.* Some describe him as a willing agent, or even the originator of in the conspiracy ; others make him out to have acted under compulsion from the mutinous garrison. He had been transferred by the Sayyids from Kalinjar to Agra only a short time before (17th Shaban 1130 H., 15th July, 1718), and in those few months could not have acquired such influence over the garrison as to induce it to follow him in such an ambitious undertaking. Moreover, he was by this time nearly seventy years of age and thus not very likely to be a willing sharer in such a revolt. Some say that among the men mixed up in this Agra rising were Rup Lal Kayath, brother of Hira Lal, the *diwan* of Sher Afkan Khan Panipati, and one Himmat, a *hazari*, or officer of garrison artillery. But there can be no doubt that the prime mover was Mitr Sen, a Nagar Brahman.†

This Mitr Sen resided in the fort of Agra, in the employ of Prince Nekusiyar. He had some knowledge of physic. Through this means, and money-lending, he acquired considerable influence among the *hazaris* and *Baksariyas* forming the garrison.‡ When, a few months before this time Husain Ali Khan passed through Agra, on his way from the Dakhin to Dihli, Mitr Sen, introduced by some of the Bakhshi's attendants and some fellow-Brahmans, obtained access to the

* Mirza Abdus-salam, first Mumin Khan, then Safi Khan, died early in Rajab 1137 H. (March 1725) at Dihli, aged over 70 years. He was son-in-law of his uncle, Ashraf Khan (d. 1097 H., 1685-6). His brother, Islam Khan (Mir Ahmad, formerly Barkhurdar Khan) died 1144 H. (1731-2) aged 77. Their father was Safi Khan (d. 1105 H., 1693-4), second son of Islam Khan Mashhadi, (Mir Abdus-salam) whose first title was Ikhtisas Khan, (d. 1057 H., 1647-8), *Masir-ul-umara*, i. 162-167, 272, ii. 741; *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, years 1057, 1097, 1105, 1137, 1144 H., *Burhan-ul-fatuh*, 162*a*, 167*a*.

† Muhammad Qasim Lahori, 267, styles him a Tiwari, which is a sub-division of the Gaur Brahmans. Kamwar Khan 180, *Burhan-ul-fatuh* 167*a*.

‡ *Hazari* (literally, "having thousand") is the name for a captain of artillery. Sometimes they are called by the Turkish word *minkbashi*, "head of one thousand." *Baksariya* means a foot-soldier or militia man. Apparently the name is derived from Baksar on the Ganges, a fort in *pargana* Bhojpur of *subah* Bihar, if we are to trust Rai Chatarman, *Chahar Gulshan*,

audience-hall, and thus became known by sight to the Mir Bakhshi.*

Some of the Sayyid's old wounds having opened afresh and given him trouble, Mitr Sen offered his services as surgeon, and in this way obtained private speech with Husain Ali Khan. From some of the Mir Bakhshi's intimates he had wormed out the secret that Farrukh-siyar would soon be dethroned. This inspired him with the idea that Nekusiyar might be proposed as a candidate for the vacant throne. The artillery officers entered into the plan. Mitr Sen thereupon, without gaining over any great noble, or even consulting Nekusiyar, made overtures in the Prince's name to Husain Ali Khan. The latter, enraged that his secret intention should have been divined, directed that Mitr Sen should no longer be admitted to his presence. [K. K. 825.]

Mitr Sen made his escape. He is supposed to have gone now to Rajah Jai Singh at Amber, where conditions were agreed on with him, and a letter addressed by Rajah Jai Singh to Rajah Chabela Ram, governor of Allahabad, was made over to him. It was also believed that Mitr Sen visited Nizam-ul-mulk when he passed through Agra but from him no definite answer was obtained. The secret of this interview was not kept ; and it was the receipt of a report about it that led to the appointment of Samandar Khan, a man of high rank, as a new commander in the fort.

When Samandar Khan reached Gao-ghat on the Jamuna, a few miles north-west of Agra, he called upon the garrison and all the establishments to come out to greet him and escort him into the fort. Instead of obeying this order, the garrison after a consultation returned word that their pay for three years was due, that they did not know who was now Emperor, that they were not acquainted with any *qiladar* of the name of Samandar Khan. Mitr Sen was in the plot. On the 29th Jamadi II. (18th

---

fol. 127*b*, who in an itinerary from Bareli to Patna enters "Baksar, original home of the Baksariyas."

* I doubt if Agra can be the right place of meeting, for Husain Ali Khan does not seem to have passed through it on his way to Dihli. I tell the story as Khafi Khan does : the rest of the facts are probably correct.

May, 1719), Nekusiyar and his two nephews were brought out by the soldiers ; the former was placed on a throne and homage was paid to him as Emperor. Coin was issued in his name with the inscription :

Ba zar zad sikka sahib-qirani
Shah Nekusiyar, Taimur-i-sani.

"On gold struck coin the Lord of the Fortunate Conjunction,
The Emperor Nekusiyar, a second Taimur."*

Mitr Sen was raised to the rank of commander of 7,000 horse with the title of Rajah Birbal and the office of *Wazir*. One *kror* and eighty *lakhs* of Rupees were withdrawn from the treasure-house and distributed among the garrison. The next day Nekusiyar with two nephews was brought to an open building† over the main gate, a royal umbrella being held over his head. With both hands the Prince made reassuring gestures in the direction of the crowd, which had assembled in the open space below the gate, while Mitr Sen, now become Rajah Birbal, poured gold over his head. Soon men hurried to the fort from all directions and offered to enlist. Blacksmiths, bullet-founders, and other artisans were brought into the fort, and a new *kotwal*, or chief police officer, was placed in charge of the city on behalf of the pretender.‡

Hostilities were commenced by the garrison firing upon the mansion (known as that of Islam Khan) occupied by Ghairat Khan, the new *nazim* of the province. This house was in a very exposed position, to the west of and almost immediately under the fort. Ghairat Khan, most of whose men were dispersed in the *subah* for the purpose of bringing in revenue, wished to abandon the house. He was, however, dissuaded by his officers, Sanjar Khan and Shamsher Khan, *Wala-shahis*.

---

* Khafi Khan, 825. *Sahib-i-qiran* is one of the titles of Taimur, the founder of the dynasty. In the British Museum collection there is no coin with this distich. The one assigned to Nekusiyar (*Catalogue*, p. 197) is hardly likely to be his; it is more probably an abnormal issue of Muhammad Shah's coinage. The same objection applies to those in Rodgers, p. 209.

† It is called a *bangala* *i.e.*, four pillars supporting a roof.

‡ Shiu Das 27*a*, Khafi Khan 827.

He therefore maintained his position, recalled his horsemen, and proceeded to enlist more troops. The facts were reported to the *Wazir* at Dihli.*

As soon as a camel-rider had brought the news to Dihli, Rajah Bhim Singh Hada and Churaman Jat,† the latter of whom had been for some time a sort of prisoner at large, were hurried off to reinforce the *nazim*. With them went Haidar Quli Khan, Iwaz Khan and Asad Ali Khan. The sons of Safi Khan and his brother, Islam Khan, were arrested and sent to prison, their *jagirs* being also confiscated. The Sayyid brothers held a consultation, and it was decided that one or the other must proceed to Agra at the head of an army. The duty was undertaken by Husain Ali Khan. On the 7th Rajab 1131 H. (25th May, 1719) he marched to Barahpula, south of the city, and there began to collect his men and make other preparations A letter was written to Ghairat Khan assuring him of the speedy arrival of the Amir-ul-umara.‡

SEC. 5.—EVENTS AT AGRA.

Nekusiyar's partisans, instead of coming out and taking advantage of Ghairat Khan's weakness, clung to the shelter of the fort walls. They lost in this way their only chance of striking a vigorous blow for their new master. In two or three days Ghairat Khan had recovered from his surprise, and his troops began to pour in to his succour. He was soon at the head of four or five thousand men, and able to take the offensive. His right-hand man at this difficult moment was Haidar Quli Khan.§

---

* There is a copy of the report in Shiu Das, 28*a*; see also *ibid* 27*a* and Khafi Khan, ii. 828.

† According to Kamraj, *Ibratnama*, 68*a*, Churaman now received a gift of the country twenty days' journey in length and breadth, extending from the Barahpula bridge outside Dihli to the borders of Gwaliyar. This means that he was appointed to be *rahdar* or road-guardian of this extent of country.

‡ There is a copy of the letter in Shiu Das, *fol.* 28*b*.

§ In 1126 H. (1714-15) Haidar Quli Khan Isfaraini was made *diwan* of the Dakhin, and all appointments and removals were left to him. Nizam-ul-mulk then *nazim*, did not get on with him, *Burhan*, 165*a*, Khafi Khan, ii. 740. He reached Court on return from the Dakhin on the 6th Zul Qada

This officer having fallen into disgrace for his oppressive measures, had not long before passed through Agra on his way from Ahmadabad to Dihli, where a very hostile reception awaited him. On arriving at Akbarabad he propitiated Ghairat Khan so effectively that through him he gained the good offices of Ratan Chand, the *Wazir's* chief adviser. As soon as the disturbance broke out at Agra, he was sent off in great haste from Dihli to the assistance of Ghairat Khan. In a short time the activity he displayed in the operations at Agra so won for him the good opinion of Husain Ali Khan, that he made an intimate friend of him, and finally obtained his pardon from Qutb-ul-mulk, the *Wazir*. [K. K. 823-828.]

Meanwhile the rebellion had made no progress: it had not spread outside the walls of the fort. Rajah Jai Singh had, indeed, come out several stages from Amber as far as Toda Tank, but before declaring himself further, he awaited news from Nizam-ul-mulk and Chabela Ram. From a letter which fell afterwards into Husain Ali Khan's hands, it would appear that Nizam-ul-mulk gave no encouragement; while Chabela Ram was detained in his province by the revolt of Jasan Singh, a zamindar of Kalpi, who was encouraged to resist by messages from the *Wazir* conveyed through Muhammad Khan Bangash. Meanwhile, although unable to make any impression on the fort, Ghairat Khan held his own. Churaman Jat had managed to collect men of his own tribe, the chief leaders being Govind Singh Jat, and the sons of Nanda Jat. Sayyid Hasan Khan from Gwaliyar and the Rajah of Bhadawar had also joined the besiegers. There was some fighting, but Safi Khan, owing to the arrest at Dihli of his children and brother, was dejected, and did not act with much vigour. Still, some sorties were attempted. One night the Jat and other peasant levies made an attack on the camp. Suddenly a store-house for the grain and grass which had been brought in from the surrounding

1127 H. (2nd November, 1715), Kamwar Khan, 158. He was appointed to Bandar Surat on the 3rd Muharram 1128 H. (28th December, 1715), *id.*, 161, and made *faujdar* of Sorath, 21st Shaban 1128 H. (9th August, 1716), *id.*, 166; he was sent for to Court on the 22nd Rajab 1130 H. (20th June, 1718) *id.*, 179.

country, was set on fire, but before the flames reached any height, heavy rain began to fall, and little damage was done. Deserters from the besieging force began to make their way into the fort. One day four of them were caught. Haidar Quli Khan condemned them to be blown away from guns in the presence of the whole army. [K. K. 834.] From that time Haidar Quli Khan in person took the roll-call of the army, and further desertions ceased. [*Siwanih*, Qasim 269.]

SEC. 6.—NEKUSIYAR MAKES OVERTURES.

Letters in the name of Nekusiyar came to the two Sayyids and other high-placed nobles, such as Muhammad Amin Khan, offering terms, if they would accept him as Emperor. The letters said: "What new-born child is this that has been placed on the throne of Hindustan? Never before has any one thought, or even dreamt, of passing over an elder for a younger heir. As for the seizure, imprisonment, and death of Muhammad Farrukh-siyar, those events had been decreed by the Eternal. Let them (*i.e.*, the Sayyids) wrapping the head of shame in the skirt of humbleness, make due submission. No revenge will be taken, but all their rank and dignities will be maintained as before." Qutb-ul-mulk, always ready to take the easiest way out of a difficulty, proposed to make terms with Nekusiyar and bring him to Dihli. Husain Ali Khan, on the other hand, looking on the Agra revolt as a sort of personal insult, would hear of no compromise. For a long time Qutb-ul-mulk was not satisfied, and even after his brother had moved out to Barahpula, visited him there several times with the object of persuading him to accept Nekusiyar's proposal. [Qasim 270.]

Qutb-ul-mulk argued that they had no quarrel with the Prince, why should they meet him with force? Why not seat him on the throne? Even if he should try to form a party among the nobles, he, Qutb-ul-mulk, saw no one from whom any danger need be anticipated. Husain Ali Khan could not be moved from his own ideas. "If Agra were a fort of steel set in an encircling ocean, he would with one blow from his finger strike it down, so that beyond a little mud and dust, no

sign of it should be left on earth." Who were these "crows," these few wretches, who had dared to interfere with their designs! All haste must be made to suppress the outbreak by force.*

SEC. 7.—THE SAYYIDS' CONDUCT TOWARDS RAFI-UD-DARJAT.

During the few months that he was Emperor, Rafi-ud-darjat was completely in the power of the two Sayyids. Until this time, the Emperors, however much they might leave State affairs in the hands of a minister or favourite, retained complete control over their own palace and person, and no man could be prevented from access to them. Ultimate power resided in their hands, and they could at any time transfer authority from one minister to another. In this reign all this was changed. At first, the palace was guarded by the Sayyids' most trusted soldiers, and all offices within it were held by their nominees. On the 14th Jamadi I. (3rd May, 1719) a concession to propriety was so far made that the hereditary doorkeepers and palace servants were allowed to return to duty. But the change was more nominal than real. It is asserted that even then the Emperor's meals were not served without the express order of his tutor, Himmat Khan, a Barha Sayyid. The young Emperor was allowed little liberty, and in his short reign he seldom left the palace. He visited Qutb-ul-mulk on the 19th Jamadi I. (8th April, 1719) at his house in the Moti Bagh, to condole with him on the death of a daughter. He paid another visit to Husain Ali Khan on the 14th Jamadi II. (3rd May, 1719); and he also went on one hunting expedition to Shakkarpur (24th Jamadi I., 3rd April). [Kamwar 200, *Siwanih*.]

In addition to keeping the strictest watch over Rafi-ud-darjat, the Sayyids' conduct was in other respects indecorous and reprehensible. Qutb-ul-mulk, a man of pleasure, not content with a harem already filled with women collected from far and near, carried off two or three of the most beautiful women from the imperial harem. One writer, Khush-hal Chand, makes a still more scandalous accusation against him.

* Qasim 272, 273; Anonymous History, B. M. Oriental MS. No. 1747.

Through Sadar-un-nisa, head of the harem, he sent a message to Inayat Banu, the Emperor's wife, that he had fallen in love with her. The go-between executed her task, only to meet with an absolute refusal. Again she was sent to urge his suit; "like a longing lover, he was fast bound by the long curling locks of that fairy." Inayat Banu writhed at the insult, undid her hair, which was over a yard long, cut it off, and threw it in the face of her tempter.* The younger brother's sin being pride, he displayed his disrespect in another manner. One day he was present alone with Rafi-ud-darjat in his private chapel *(tasbih khana)*. The Emperor sat down on his chair. At once, without waiting for permission, Husain Ali Khan, sat down in front of him.† Highly-placed orientals are rarely at fault on such occasions, and Rafi-ud-darjat showed his usual readiness at rebuking an affront. Stretching out his feet in the direction of Husain Ali Khan, he said: "Draw off my stockings *(moza)*." Although inwardly raging, Husain Ali Khan could do nothing else but comply. [K. K. 821, Khush-hal 415*a*.]

That the young man was not altogether devoid of sense, is proved by the story of a dispute that arose once between Qutb-ul-mulk and Rafi-ud-darjat. A warrant of appointment having been signed, next day the *Wazir* brought a second order giving the same post to another nominee. The Emperor asked: "Is it the same village, or another with the same name?" He was told it was the same one, but this man was fit for the place and offered more than the other. The Emperor said it was foolishness to act like that, and threw the paper on the floor. [Yahya 127*b*.]

SEC. 8.—THE EMPEROR'S DEPOSITION AND DEATH.

In the confusion and hurry attending his accession, no heed had been paid to the state of Rafi-ud-darjat's health. He was

* In spite of the evidence of Khush-hal Chand, a contemporary and a resident at Dihli, I fear that this story about the Princess' cutting off her hair, must be treated as what lawyers call "common form." It is also related by N. Manucci, in regard to Rana Dil, one of the widows of Dara Shukoh, when summoned to his harem by Alamgir.

† No one sat in the Emperor's presence without his order or permission. Yahya Khan, 127*a*, has a version of this story, but he ascribes it to Rafi-ud-daulah.

afterwards found to be far advanced in consumption, he was also addicted to the use of opium ; and from the day that he ascended the throne, he became weaker and weaker. By the middle of Rajab (June) it was evident that his days were numbered. He then told the Sayyids that if they would comply with his most earnest desire, and raise to the throne his elder brother, Rafi-ud-daulah, he should die happy. Accordingly on the 17th Rajab (4th June 1719) Rafi-ud-darjat was deposed and sent back into the harem. Two days afterwards (6th June, 1719), Rafi-ud-daulah was seated on the throne in the public audience-hall within the palace at Dihli. On the 24th Rajab (11th June, 1719) Rafi-ud-darjat expired, and was buried near the shrine of Khwaja Qutb-ud-din. [Warid 159*a*.]

APPENDIX.—RAFI-UD-DARJAT.

Age.—At his death Rafi-ud-darjat was about twenty years of age ; the words *waris-i-taj* (1111 H)., "heir to the crown," giving the year of his birth, Khafi Khan, ii. 816. The *Jam-i-jam* gives the precise date as the 8th Jamadi II. 1111 H. (30th November, 1699) ; Mirza Muhammad, *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, declares that he was only sixteen or seventeen years of age at his death.

Reign.—He reigned from his accession on the 9th Rabi II. to his deposition on the 17th Rajab 1131 H., for a period of three months and nine days.

Titles.—His style and title as Emperor was Abul-barakat, Sultan Shams-ud-din, Muhammad Rafi-ud-darjat, Badshah, Ghazi. (Mirza Muhammad, *Tazkira*, 470.)

Coin.—The distich placed upon his coin was :

Zad sikka ba Hind ba hazaran barakat
Shahan-shah-i-bahr-o-bar, Rafi-ud-darjat.

"Coin was struck in Hind, with a thousand blessings,
By the king of kings on land and sea, Rafi-ud-darjat."

But on the second day of the reign Qutb-ul-mulk called on Fath Khan Fazil, to provide a couplet which should allow of a different word for gold coins (*ashrafi*) and silver coins (Rupees), as was the case with Alamgir's coinage. The poet on the spur of the moment produced the following lines :

Sikka zad Shah Rafi-ud-darjat
Mihr-manind ba yamin-o-barakat.
"The Emperor Rafi-ud-darjat struck coin,
Sun-like, with power and felicity."

On the Rupee the word *badr* (moon) was substituted for *mihr* (sun). It is not known whether these lines were ever actually brought into use, as we have no coin on which they appear ; but there is another variant on one coin in the Lahor Museum :

Sikka-i-mubarik-i-badshah-i-ghazi, Rafi-ud-darjat.

There are twenty-three coins of this reign in the three public collections at London, Calcutta, and Lahor ; four of gold and nineteen of silver, all circular in shape. All except one are dated according to the Hijra or the regnal year, or both. All except one coin can be classed under the *subahs* in which their place of mintage was situated. These twenty-two coins belong to ten mints in eight out of the twenty-one provinces ; Kashmir, Tattha, Ajmer, Gujarat, Malwa, Bengal, Orissa and the six Dakhin *subahs* being unrepresented. The number of coins from each mint is : Kabul (1), Lahor (4), Multan (1), Shahjahanabad (5), Akbarabad (5), Gwaliyar (1), Etawa (2), Muazzamabad, *i.e.*, Oudh (1), Kora (1), Patna (1). It is curious that in such a short reign a distant province like Kabul should have issued any coin ; but the other places were well within control of the Court. In the gold coins the weights are 160, 168, 169 and169.5 grains, and the diameters ·77, ·8, ·85, and ·94 of an inch. For the silver coins the weight and the diameter are respectively 172 (2), 173 (4), 174 (1), 174·5 (2), 175 (5), 176 (2), 177 (1), 178 (1), and 179 (1), grains, and ·82 (1), ·85 (2), ·90 (5), ·95 (5), ·96 (1), ·97 (1), 1·0 (3), 1·03 (1) of an inch. Mr. M. Longworth Dames (*Numismatic Chronicle*, Fourth Series, ii. 275-309) has three coins of this reign ; adding thereby two more mints to the above, *viz.*, Burhanpur and Sarhind.

Family.—The only reference to Rafi-ud-darjat's wife or wives is to be found in the story given a page or two back, from which we learn the name of one wife, Inayat Banu. He seems to have left no children. One notable point about him was his descent on both sides from Alamgir, his mother being the

daughter of Prince Akbar, that monarch's fourth son. With such an ancestry it is strange that he did not display more of the energy and ability characteristic of the earlier generations of his house.

SEC. 9.—THE ACCESSION OF RAFI-UD-DAULAH (1719).

On the 19th Rajab 1131 H. (6th June, 1719), Rafi-ud-daulah, middle son of Prince Rafi-ush-shan, third son of Bahadur Shah, ascended the throne in the audience-hall at Dihli in succession to his brother, Rafi-ud-darjat. He was eighteen months older than his predecessor. He received the title of Shah Jahan Sani, or the second Shah Jahan. At his accession no changes took place, except the insertion of his name on the coin and in the Friday prayer. He remained like his brother in the hands of Qutb-ul-mulk's nominees. His coming out and going in, his appearances in the audience-hall, what he ate and what he wore, his every act was under the control of Himmat Khan Barha. He was not allowed to attend the public prayers on Friday, to go hunting, or to converse with any noble, unless one of the two Sayyids or his guardian was present. His first formal audience was held in the *ramna* or hunting preserve of Khizrabad on the 24th Rajab (11th June, 1719) when the generals appointed for duty at Agra were presented and took their leave. After this the *khutba* was read at the great mosque in the new Emperor's presence on the 26th of the same month (13th June, 1719).*

SEC. 10.—RISING OF SHAISTA KHAN AT DIHLI.

Shaista Khan, maternal uncle of the late Emperor,† Farrukh-siyar, was naturally discontented with the new régime, and at

---

* Kamwar Khan, 203. Khafi Khan, ii. 831, fixes the 20th Rajab for the accession, perhaps to suit his chronogram: *Shambah bistam-i-mah-i-Rajab bud,* (1131 H.). Nor was it possible for the 20th to have fallen on a Saturday; it was either a Wednesday or a Thursday. The Khizrabad referred to is about five miles south of the new city or Shahjahanabad, and near the Jamuna river.

† Khwaja Inayatullah Kashmiri, entitled Shaista Khan, died early in Rajab 1141 H. (January, February, 1729), at Shahjahanabad, *Tarikh-i-Mhdi.*

the instigation of Rajah Jai Singh, began to collect soldiers, with the intention of escaping from Dihli and joining the Rajah, then on his march to the assistance of Nekusiyar. Meanwhile he kept the Rajah well informed of all that was going on at Dihli. Khan Dauran, (Khwaja Asim) and other great men attempted to dissuade Shaista Khan from this dangerous course. He paid no heed to them and continued his preparations. Then by accident a letter addressed by him to Rajah Jai Singh fell into the hands of Husain Ali Khan. By this time the malcontent was reported to have collected seven or eight thousand men.*

On the 23rd Rajab 1131 H. (10th June, 1719), Zafar Khan and Nahar Khan Hansawi† were sent against Shaista Khan with a strong force. They stormed his mansion and, taking him a prisoner, conveyed him to Husain Ali Khan then at Barahpula where he had been encamped since the 7th Rajab, (25th May, 1719). Shaista Khan's property in cash and goods, his horses and his elephants, his cows and his asses, were given up to plunder. This incident aroused suspicions in the Sayyids' hearts with regard to many other of the nobles. But at such a critical moment silence seemed the wisest thing. Of those suspected, only a few men openly declared themselves. Ruhullah Khan III., son of Ruhullah Khan, the second of that title, had been appointed *faujdar* of Ahmadabad in Gujarat, but on his way to that place had turned aside and joined Rajah Jai Singh. Tahavvar Khan Turani had also escaped secretly from Dihli a week after Husain Ali Khan had started for Agra, and he, too, repaired to Jai Singh's camp by forced marches. Qutb-ul-mulk sent horsemen in pursuit, but they were unable to overtake the fugitive. Another of these absconders to Jai Singh was Sayyid Salabat Khan, brother-in-law of Farrukhsiyar and lately commander of the imperial artillery. [Kamwar 204, Qasim 272, K. K. 832.]

* Khafi Khan 831, Kamwar Khan 204, and *Siwanih-i-Khizri*.

† That is "native of Hansi." He was either a Ranghar (a Muhammadan Rajput) or a Khanzada. Possibly he is identical with the Nahar Khan Shaikhzada, of Hansi, mentioned as *faujdar* of Dholka in Gujarat, see Kamwar Khan, p. 200, entry of 24th Jamadi I. 1131 H. Kamraj, *Ibratnama*, 69*a*, says S. Dilawar Ali Khan, Bakhshi of the *Wazir*, was also sent against Shaista Khan.

SEC. 11.—HUSAIN ALI KHAN'S CAMPAIGN AT AGRA.

At length on the 6th Shaban (23rd June, 1719) Husain Ali Khan commenced his march. Under his orders were Muhammad Amin Khan Chin, Samsam-ud-daulah Khan Dauran, Zafar Khan and others. Muhammad Khan Bangash came in from Sadabad* on the 20th Shaban (7th July, 1719) and followed the main body. At this time many rumours were prevalent. As usual in such cases, dreams or the opinions of soothsayers and astrologers favourable to Nekusiyar, passed from mouth to mouth. Rajah Jai Singh, people said, was marching from Amber on Agra ; Chabela Ram was on his way from Allahabad at the head of thirty thousand men ; Nizam-ul-mulk had started to reinforce them with a mighty army ; Nekusiyar, in the garb of a *faqir*, had escaped from Agra and reached the camp of Rajah Jai Singh. Of all these statements the only true one was that Rajah Jai Singh had come out one stage from Amber at the head of nine or ten thousand horsemen, and there awaited the advance of Chabela Ram. The latter, however, was still busily occupied with the revolt of Jasan Singh of Kalpi, who was backed up by the Afghans. Nizam-ul-mulk showed no serious intention of taking up the cause of Nekusiyar. [Kamwar 205, K. K. 832.]

On the 21st Shaban (8th July, 1719) Husain Ali Khan reached Sikandra, within sight of Agra ; the weather was extremely hot, and a halt was made for three days. On the 25th (12th July) camp was moved to Bagh Dahr-Ara. The siege which had been commenced by Ghairat Khan and Haidar Quli Khan, was now pressed on with redoubled energy. [Qasim, 277.]

SEC. 12.—SIEGE OF AGRA FORT.

As soon as he reached Agra, Husain Ali Khan rode round the fort and fixed in person the sites for the batteries, the side selected for attack being the south, where is the bastion then known as the *Bangala-burj*, a place which was weakly defended and had no earthwork (*pushta*) to strengthen the wall. Heavy

* Sadabad, a town in the Ganges-Jamuna *duaba*.

guns were brought to bear on the walls ;* but as the wet weather had begun and the rain was heavy, ten and in some cases twenty days were occupied in dragging these cannon the distance, only a mile, or two, which separated the camp from the fort. The route through the lanes and bazars being very narrow, the dwelling-houses and shops were pulled down to allow of the passage of the artillery. Within the fort there are said to have been thirteen hundred cannon, counting those of every kind. From these the garrison artillerymen (the *Baksariya*) kept up an incessant fire, not allowing themselves a respite even during the night. Damage was done on both sides. Even persons resorting to the river bank to draw water were fired on from the fort, and fell victims. The governor's mansion near the fort was destroyed, the mosque known as the Begam Sahib's, standing opposite to the citadel, was injured, the tower and marble steps being struck by shot, and the buildings of the Tirpoliya or triple gate, suffered equally. The besiegers returned the fire and injured the battlements on all four walls, doing also some damage to the Moti Masjid. Haidar Quli Khan, who had under his command many Europeans, whom he had brought from Surat, drove several saps towards the walls. Little effect was, however, produced on the fort ; nor did the garrison show any enterprize, or try to open a way through the investing lines and join their friends outside. The attacking force had succeeded in causing the besieged to withdraw within the fort ; but beyond this advantage nothing was gained, except that Ghairat Khan and Shamsher Khan, after a good deal of fighting, took the *chabutra* or police office at the fort gate.†

The garrison were evidently reserving themselves until they had learnt of the advance of their hoped-for allies. Time passed, and of these helpers there was no word or sign. After

* These guns had each a name, such as *Ghazi Khan* (Lord Champion), *Sherdahan* (Tiger-mouth), *Dhum-dham* (The noisy), and so forth. They carried balls from thirty Shahjahani *sers* to one and a quarter *man* in weight; attached to each were from one to four elephants, and from six hundred to seventeen hundred draught oxen.

† Shiu Das, 29*a*; *Risala-i-Muhammad Shah*, 76*b*; Qasim, 280.

a month provisions began to be scarce. Many of those who had joined from the country round began to desert, getting over the walls at night, only to be seized by the Nawab's sentries. These fugitives informed Husain Ali of the disheartened and suffering condition of the garrison and the depression in Mitr Sen's mind. All the good grain had been used up ; and nothing was left but inferior pulses, and these had been stored over seven years and smelt so strongly, that even the four-footed beasts would not eat them with avidity. Attempts were made to bring in small supplies of flour, which were dragged up by ropes let down from the battlement. Even some men of the artillery in the besieging force engaged in this traffic. After this fact was found out, the strictness of watch was redoubled, anything moving in the river at night was shot at, and expert swimmers were kept ready to pursue and seize any one who attempted to escape by way of the river.

Secret overtures were accordingly made to the garrison. In Husain Ali Khan's artillery a man was serving named Chura, who had acquaintances within the fort ; and through him a message was sent to these men guaranteeing to them their lives and property, if they delivered up Prince Nekusiyar together with the fort. Churaman Jat, who commanded at an entrenchment near the fort, opened up similar negotiations. The garrison called these two Churas within the fort, where they placed a pot of Ganges water on their heads and made them swear an oath to carry out faithfully the terms agreed on.*

About this time the *hazaris*, or captains of artillery, had told Mitr Sen that they could not continue the defence. Mitr Sen sent a confidential secretary, Nath Mal, to reassure them. This Nath Mal was the son of Bhukan Mal, who had been high in the service of Asad Khan, Alamgir's *Wazir*. Instead of listening to his remonstrances, the artillerymen seized Nath Mal and made him over to their friends outside. He was brought before Husain Ali Khan, and in his pen-box were found communications to Nekusiyar from many of the nobles holding commands in the besieging force or offices round the Emperor's person. Husain Ali Khan dissembled in this matter

* Shiu Das, 30*a*; Mhd. Qasim, 281, 286, 287.

as much as possible but his bosom friend, Asad Ali Khan, a connection of the celebrated Ali Mardan Khan, was publicly disgraced. Among the letters found were some from Samsam-ud-daulah and Zafar Khan Roshan-ud-daulah. [K. K. 836, *Siwanih.*]

Others captured were Rup Lal and his companions, seven men in all, who had been sent to some of the besieging nobles in the hope of winning their adherence to Nekusiyar's cause. Their captor was Khizr Khan Panni ; Rup Lal was executed. Sayyid Firuz Ali Khan also made prisoners of Sulaiman Beg and six others. A large sum was offered by Husain Ali Khan to any one who would surrender the fort. [Kamraj, 69*b*.]

Shortly afterwards Mirza Asghari, brother's son of Nekusiyar,* tried to make his escape from the fort (22nd Ramzan 1131 H., 7th August, 1719), with the hope of reaching Rajah Jai Singh at Amber, or Chabela Ram at Allahabad. He intended to come out on the side facing the river, but Manohar Jat, one of the garrison, sent notice to Churaman Jat, who commanded in that direction. From sunset Churaman took up his station near the river at the head of two hundred men. When Mirza Asghari, followed by twelve servants, made his appearance, he was forthwith seized and detained till the morning. At day-break he was taken before Husain Ali Khan, who ordered him to be kept a prisoner in the custody of Mutamad Khan. The money which he had brought out to bribe Churaman, was made over to that chief, together with an elephant.†

A plan was now devised to overcome Safi Khan's reluctance to give in, and to induce him to abandon the struggle. A letter purporting to be from his brother, Islam Khan, then a prisoner at Dihli, was prepared, and on it Qutb-ul-mulk impressed the seal of Islam Khan. It urged Safi Khan to resist no longer, but make over the fort and the pretender to Ghairat Khan. Safi Khan sent this letter on to Ghairat Khan, expressing his willingness to surrender, if he were promised a pardon. Ghairat Khan hurried off to Husain Ali Khan and obtained from him a written

* Kamraj, *Ibratnama*, 69*b*, says it was the other son of Buland Akhtar, *viz.*, Fath-ul-mubin, who tried to escape.

† *Siwanih-i-Khizri*, Khafi Khan ii. 836, Kamwar Khan 207.

promise of pardon, attested by his seal and signature. Thereupon Safi Khan came out of the fort and delivered up letters which he had received from many of the great nobles, instigating him to bring forward Nekusiyar as a claimant for the throne. Among the rest was one bearing the private seal of Husain Ali Khan himself. He was struck with amazement. On enquiring, he found that Mitr Sen at the time when he had access to the Nawab's *darbar*, had prepared it and sent it to Safi Khan. [*Siwanih*.]

SEC. 13.—SURRENDER OF AGRA FORT AND OF NEKUSIYAR.

At length on the 27th Ramzan 1131 H.* (12th August, 1719) the garrison surrendered. Ghairat Khan was sent in with a force to take possession, while Rajah Muhkam Singh and Samandar Khan brought out Nekusiyar and his other nephew, Baba Mughal.† At the gate of the fort the two Princes were placed on elephants and escorted to the camp. A great crowd had assembled to see them, through which they passed with hanging heads, looking neither to the right nor to the left. As they dismounted, Husain Ali Khan advanced to greet them and conducted them to the tent already allotted to Mirza Asghari. There they were made to sit on one carpet of honour (*masnad*), while the Bakhshi stood before them humbly, with folded hands. But Nekusiyar, whose life had been passed in the harem, rose at once, and in the dialect used by women began to beg and pray for his life, accompanying his words by prostrations utterly opposed to usage. Anxious to maintain the usual decorum, the Nawab took his hand, and remonstrating, said, "Let your mind be at rest, and count this place as your own. Until this time you were in the hands of infidels." Nekusiyar uttered bitter complaints against those who had made use of him for their own purposes ; and asked that some eunuch might be sent at once to allay the terror of his mother and the other women, by

* It is the 29th Ramzan in Muhammad Qasim, 289, and so also in the *Tabsirat-un-nazirin*, year 1131 H., p. 129, where is to be found Abdul-jalil's *qasida* in honour of the occasion. The poet was present on the spot.

† Baba Mughal is, I suppose, the same as the Prince called Fath-ul-mubin by Kamraj, *Ibratnama*, *fol*. 69b.

informing them of the kind reception he and his nephew had received. They were then furnished with carpets, pillows and other necessaries.*

Before the imperial soldiers could seize him, Mitr Sen had made an end of himself by plunging a dagger into his own breast. While still a little breath was left in the body, the soldiers, to prove their zeal, lifted it up and carried it into the presence of Husain Ali Khan. He ordered them to sever the head from the body and send it to Qutb-ul-mulk. For three days the drums were beaten in honour of the victory, and in the end Nekusiyar was sent to Dihli to be placed with the other captive Princes in Salimgarh: he died there on the 6th Rajab 1135 H. (11th March, 1723) and was buried at the Qutb.†

The next pressing work was to obtain possession of the hoards of treasure and other property. Husain Ali Khan in person proceeded to the fort, where he placed Haidar Quli Khan in general charge, and Ghairat Khan was told off to search for treasure. Trusty men were placed as sentries at the gates and no one, whether belonging to the army or not, was allowed to pass without being strictly searched. Ancient treasurers and guards of Alamgir's time, who had long left the service, were summoned from their homes. By much urging and the offer of rewards they were induced to point out the underground store-houses. In one place thirty-five *lakhs* of *tanka* minted in the time of Sikandar Lodi (1488-1516) were recovered; and in another seventy-eight *lakhs* of Shah Jahan's silver coinage, with ten thousand gold coins of Akbar's reign. The papers of account were also recovered. These showed that the money had been placed by Alamgir in the custody of Shaista Khan, Amir-ul-umara; but upon that Emperor's death in the Dakhin, no further notice had been taken of these hoards. They were not discovered in Bahadur Shah's or Jahandar Shah's time. In the wardrobe were a shawl studded with jewels which had belonged to Nur Jahan Begam, a sword used by the

* Kamwar 208, Shiu Das 30*b*, Khafi Khan 836, Qasim 289.

† *Burhan-us-safa*, 167*b*; Kamwar Khan, 208; Khafi Khan, 837; *Tarikh-i-Mhdi.*, year 1135; *Siwanih-i-Khizri*, p. 3.

Emperor Jahangir, and the sheet sprinkled with pearls which Shah Jahan caused to be prepared for the tomb of Mumtaz Mahal. One valuation puts the property at 1,80,00,000 Rupees (£1,800,000), 1,40,00,000 Rupees in cash and the rest in goods. Khafi Khan puts it still higher, namely, at two to three *krors* of Rupees (£2,000,000 to £3,000,000).*

SEC. 14.—THE EMPEROR AND QUTB-UL-MULK START FROM DIHLI FOR AGRA.

When news was received at Dihli that Jai Singh had so far declared himself as to move out from Amber in the direction of Biana and Agra, Abdullah Khan decided upon taking the field with the Emperor in person. Accordingly the advance-tents were sent out to Masjid-i-moth, a distance of three *kos*, on the 26th Shaban 1131 H. (13th July, 1719). Sayyid Khan Jahan† was left in charge of the city and the palace. On the 28th the Emperor visited the Qutb and next day he marched to Khizrabad. After three more marches they reached Sikri on the 8th Ramzan (24th July, 1719), and the rain being very heavy, a halt was made for two or three days. On the 19th Ramzan (4th August, 1719) they were between Karahka and Kori ; and here Rajah Ajit Singh received permission to proceed to Mathura to bathe in the Ganges. At the stage of Kosi, about thirty miles north-west of Mathura, it was decided, from reasons of prudence, not to march straight towards Amber, but to keep more to the left and make for Fathpur Sikri. One camp was at Kuraoli, eight *kos* from Agra ; thence the *Wazir* and his brother moved to Fathpur, eight or nine miles farther to the west.‡

SEC. 15.—FARRUKH-SIYAR'S WIDOW IS MADE OVER TO HER FATHER, AJIT SINGH.

At the time of setting out from Dihli, Ajit Singh had been appointed to command the vanguard. Thereupon he commenced

* Mhd. Qasim 292, Shiu Das 306, Khafi Khan 837, *Siwanih-i-Khizri* p. 3.

† Khan Jahan died on the 12th Shawwal 1132 H. (16th August, 1720).

‡ Mhd. Qasim, 282, 283; Kamwar Khan, 209; Khafi Khan, 833; Kamraj, *Ibratnama*, 70*a*. Kori and Karahka I cannot trace on the *Indian Atlas*. Kuraoli is on sheet No. 50, about 15 m. west of Agra.

to make excuses, on the ground that if he left his daughter, Farrukh-siyar's widow, behind him, she would either poison herself or her name and fame would be assailed. Yielding to these pleas, Abdullah Khan made the lady over to her father. She performed a ceremony of purification in the Hindu fashion, and gave up her Muhammadan attire. Then, with all her property, estimated to exceed 1,00,00,000 Rupees (£1,000,000) in value, she was sent off to her native country of Jodhpur. Great indignation was felt by the Muhammadans, especially by the more bigoted class of those learned in the law. The *Qazi* issued a ruling that the giving back of a convert was entirely opposed to Muhammadan law. But, in spite of this opposition, Abdullah Khan insisted on conciliating Ajit Singh, although on no previous occasion had a Rajput Princess been restored to her own people after she had once entered the imperial harem. [K. K. 833, *Siwanih.*]

SEC. 16.—THE EMPEROR AND ABDULLAH KHAN MARCH TOWARDS AGRA.

When Husain Ali Khan learnt that his brother had left the capital, a movement undertaken without his previous knowledge, he wrote an urgent remonstrance. He begged that no advance might be made into Rajah Jai Singh's country, for he had already taken all the precautions that were necessary. His *Bakhshi*, Sayyid Dilawar Ali Khan, with Mir Mushrif and Zafar Khan Turra-i-baz, had been sent early in the rains to reduce a fort called Fathpur, held by Khama Jat. This force had now been directed to block the way to Rajah Jai Singh, and nothing more was required in that direction. Abdullah Khan might either encamp where he was, or come on to Agra. [Qasim 283.]

On the 27th Ramzan (12th August, 1719) a messenger brought word to Abdullah Khan that his brother had just obtained possession of Agra fort, and was then busied in appropriating its contents to his own use. Although the victory was a cause of rejoicing, the thought of exclusion from his share of the booty depressed the *Wazir's* mind. An immediate advance was resolved upon. On the 29th Ramzan (14th August,

1719) the camp was at Sarsi, and on the 11th Shawwal (26th August, 1719) at Ol, where Ajit Singh rejoined from Mathura. On the 17th of that month they reached the village of Bidyapur, not far from Fathpur Sikri.*

On the 19th Shawwal (4th September, 1719) a report was received that Husain Ali Khan was near Kuraoli on his way from Agra with Nekusiyar and the other captives. Next day he arrived, and one day after his arrival he was presented in audience. The quarrel which had broken out between the brothers over the booty taken at Agra, was here made up through the exertions of Rajah Ratan Chand. Abdullah Khan received twenty-one, or, as some say,† twenty-eight *lakhs* of Rupees, a sum which was supposed to represent his half-share, after all the expenses of the campaign had been deducted. The sword of Jahangir and the shawl of Nur Jahan were retained by the Emperor, but the rest of the booty was granted to the two brothers.‡

SEC. 17.—ILLNESS AND DEATH OF RAFI-UD-DAULAH.

Rafi-ud-daulah turned out to be as sickly and weakly as his brother and predecessor, being like him given to excess in the use of opium. On ascending the throne he gave up the habit, but the sudden abstinence produced diarrhoea. About the time that he started from Dihli he fell seriously ill. Accusations of poison are freely made by some writers, notably by Kamwar Khan: but this man's views on the subject can be readily accounted for. He had risen in the service of Rafi-ush-shan, the father of this and the previous Emperor, and naturally he expected much personal benefit from their coming

---

* Kamwar Khan, 208. Sarsi I cannot trace: Ol is on the *Indian Atlas*, sheet 50, as Oll, about 27 m. n. w. of Agra and about 15 m. s. w. of Mathura. Bidyapur is not traceable on the *Indian Atlas* map; it was the birth-place of Khizr Khan Panni, the hero of the *Siwanih-i-Khizri* so often quoted. Through the kindness of Mr. H. W. W. Reynolds, C.S., Commissioner of Agra, I learn that it is opposite mile-stone No. 17 on the metalled road from Agra to Fathpur Sikri. Kuraoli is about 15 miles w. of Agra.

† The *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari* has 30 *lakhs* of Rupees.

‡ Khafi Khan 837, *Siwanih-i-Khizri* p. 4.

to the throne. In this he was entirely disappointed. From fear of the Sayyids, the two Princes had discouraged the applications of their own dependants, such as Kamwar Khan, and by reason of their shortlived tenure of the throne such hopes of preferment were dashed to the ground. Instigated by his sorrow for their early death and by regret at his own vanished prospects, is it to be wondered at that he lost his judgment, and too readily believed that his young masters had been made away with? He was ready to accept any assertion, however improbable it might be, about the two Sayyids. The only overt act he can adduce is the substitution of the physician, Ulwi Khan, for Mahdi-Quli-Khan, as head of the royal kitchen. Then in a later entry, 20th Shawwal (4th September), he insists that the attack of diarrhoea from which the young Emperor suffered, was due to the Sayyids' "cunning devices." Finally, on the 28th Shawwal (12th September), when Masih-uz-zaman, Abdullah Khan, and other physicians were called to the Emperor's bedside, Kamwar Khan can only say that "they took counsel for his departure." These vague accusations cannot for a moment be entertained. To refute them it is enough to remember how much the Sayyids were interested in keeping the Prince alive, if they could. They could in no way benefit by such gratuitous iniquity as the poisoning of an inoffensive Prince, with whom they had no quarrel, and from whom they could anticipate no injury. The truth is that Rafi-ud-daulah was not only of a weak constitution, but was addicted to opium. This fact sufficiently accounts for his succumbing under an attack of the kind from which he was suffering, as that disease when once set up in an opium-eater is almost incurable. His death occurred in camp at Bidyapur on the 4th or 5th Zul Qada 1131 H. (17th or 18th September, 1719) but the fact was concealed until the arrival from Dihli of some other Prince to be his successor. A week or more before his death the Sayyids' nephew, Ghulam Ali Khan, and other nobles had been despatched in all haste to Dihli for that purpose. [*T. Muzaffari* 166.]

According to one author, various stories more or less absurd were in circulation about the early death of these two Emperors. Some said that the Sayyids, having found the two youths devoid

of learning, deficient in knowledge of men, and wanting in valour, became convinced that they were useless as sovereigns, and had therefore removed them by poison. Again, others hinted that by reading the stars it was found that these Princes were doomed to misfortune, and the Sayyids were impelled to their removal by the fear of being themselves involved. Or, as some suggested, the Sayyids had resolved on killing out by degrees the whole of Taimur's race. When the way was open, they meant to claim the throne for themselves, Qutb-ul-mulk taking Hindustan, and Husain Ali Khan, the Dakhin and Malwa. The author in question sums up in favour of the third supposition, and blames the Sayyids for forgetting that :—

"He who chooses to leave the beaten path
Will never reach his journey's end." [*Ahwal*, 172*a*.]

APPENDIX.—RAFI-UD-DAULAH.

Length of reign.—Rafi-ud-daulah reigned four months and sixteen days. As the month or year of his birth is nowhere stated in any first-class authority, we do not know his exact age. If he was eighteen months older than his brother, Rafi-ud-darjat, he must have been between twenty and twenty-one years old at the time of death.

Title.—On his accession he received the title of Shah Jahan Sani (the second), but his full style is nowhere given.

Coin.—There are nineteen of this Emperor's coins in the three public collections before referred to ; three of gold and sixteen of silver, all circular. Except one, all are dated, bearing the year 1131 H. These nineteen coins come from ten mints in eight out of the twenty-one provinces : coins from Kabul, Kashmir, Multan, Ajmer, Oudh, Allahabad, Malwa, Orissa, and five out of the six Dakhin *subahs* are absent.

Family.—We do not know if Rafi-ud-daulah was married, or if he was, who his wife was ; nor do we hear of his having left any children. On the 13th Zul Qada (21st September, 1719) his bier was sent to Dihli, and he was buried beside his brother near the shrine of Qutb-ud-din.

---

is *an object of supreme interest to the student of political philosophy no less than to the student of Indian history.* For several portions of the reign, the author has been able to secure *the very raw materials of history,* viz., the *letters* of the leading historical personages of the time and the daily bulletins of Aurangzib's Court.

Vol. I. Reign of Shah Jahan

Lessons of Aurangzib's reign—materials—Aurangzib's boyhood and education—early viceroyalties—marriage and family—war in Central Asia—sieges of Qandahar—second viceroyalty of the Deccan—invasions of Golkonda and Bijapur—Shivaji's early conflict with Aurangzib—illness of Shah Jahan—character and doings of his sons—Aurangzib's preparations for contesting the throne.

Vol. II. War of Succession

Defeat of Jaswant Singh—defeat of Dara—pursuit, capture and execution of Dara—capture of Dara's eldest son—struggle with Shuja—war in Bengal—tragic end of Shuja—captivity and execution of Murad—grand coronation of Aurangzib—long and critical bibliography of authorities in Persian.

Vol. III. Northern India during 1658-1681, *(2nd. Ed.)*

Aurangzib's sons, sisters, and chief ministers—relations with the outer Muslim world—strict moral and religious regulations, —"burial of Music"—captivity, sufferings and death of Shah Jahan—conquests of Kuch Bihar, Assam, Chittagong, &c.—rebellions of frontier Afghans—persecution of the Hindus,—temple destruction,—Jaziya tax fully discussed—war with the Rajputs—annexation of Jodhpur—Durgadas and Ajit Singh—peace with Maharana—Hindu reaction—Satnamis—Sikh gurus Tegh Bahadur and Guru Govind Singh—Shivaji's letter on religious toleration—Tod's *Rajasthan* criticised—correct chronology of Aurangzib's reign, 1st half—second Persian bibliography.

Vol. IV. Southern India, 1644-1689

Keynote of Deccan History in the 17th Century.—Decline of Bijapur and Golkonda—reign of Ali Adil Shah II.—Jai Singh and Shivaji invade Bijapur—internal anarchy at Bijapur—siege and fall of Bijapur—fall of Golkonda—Shivaji the Maratha—his rise—his war with Jai Singh—his visit to Aurangzib and romantic escape—his struggle with the Mughals—his conquests in the Karnatak—climax of his career—death character and achievements—Shambhuji's reign, wars with the Portuguese and Mughals,—capture and execution—Prince Akbar in the Deccan.

OPINIONS

Vincent A. Smith.—"You are doing first class work...I repeat with all sincerity that I have the highest opinion of your learning, impartiality and critical ability. I trust that you may be long spared to continue your good work of giving honest history." (29 Dec. 1919.)

Shivaji and His Times

2nd Ed., revised and enlarged, with a fine portrait, Rs. 4.

A new and fully detailed critical study of Shivaji's life and character based on an exhaustive use of all the available original materials—Persian, Marathi, Hindi, Dutch and English—most of which were unknown to Grant Duff. It is the most comprehensive and correct narrative of the rise of the Marathas with minute details and exact dates. The complex interaction of Deccan politics has been clearly shown by references to the history of the Muslim Powers there in the 17th Century.

Shivaji's character and achievements, and the Maratha institutions and system of government are discussed in two long chapters (45 pages), and the lessons taught by the rise and fall of the Marathas are clearly unfolded. Critical bibliography (15 pages).

V. A. Smith.—"A conscientious presentation of recorded facts......Bold and deliberately provocative book, merits the closest study...... A sound critical historian." (*J. R. A. S.*, Jan., 1920.)

G. Ferrand.—"All the works [of this author] have received a most flattering welcome; *Shivaji and His Times* merits the same praises that have been bestowed on the preceding works. It......constitutes a thrice important contribution to the history of India in the 17th century." (*Journal Asiatique*, 1921.)

Sir R. C. Temple.—"The book is indeed History treated in the right way and in the right spirit... He has access *to the best information* and the linguistic knowledge and capacity to use them."

Anecdotes of Aurangzib

(Persian text, with an English translation notes and a long life of Aurangzib)

The anecdotes, 72 in number, have been translated from a Persian work (the *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri*, ascribed to Aurangzib's favourite officer Hamiduddin Khan Nimcha), which no other historian has yet used and whose very existence was hardly known before. Two fragmentary MSS. of it were discovered by Prof. Sarkar ; and with the help of these and of two others, he has edited the text, and written an English translation, enriched with full historical and textual notes.

The work is exceedingly interesting and valuable, as it throws much new light on Aurangzib and exhibits many unknown traits of his character, his pithy sayings, and his principles of government.

The anecdotes illustrate the following topics among others :

Section I. Young Aurangzib's combat with an elephant, His love affair with Hira Bai, His coolness in the battle with Shuja, His last will and testament.

Section II. Advice to his sons on the art of government, His strictness in maintaining the royal prerogatives, His suspicious watching of his sons, His strict justice, Advice to his sons about conduct and manners.

Sec. III. His treatment of his officers, advice to them, answers to their complaints and petitions, strict observance of official discipline, "Beware of the Sayyids of Barha"! Rise of the Nizam's father, "Ability the only qualification for office", The Emperor's activity and sense of duty; Contrast between the characters of the Indians and the Persians, Financial ruin in his last years, "Don't provoke a satirical poet".

Sec IV. His treatment of Shias and Hindus, and orders concerning them.

Indian Antiquary.—"The *Anecdotes* is of real value to English students desirous of closer acquaintance with the individuality of the last of the great Mughals......The anecdotes have lost little of their vigour by translation and the editor has elucidated the text by valuable notes."

Chaitanya's Pilgrimages and Teachings

With a portrait, 2nd ed. Rs. 3.

Chaitanya, (1485-1533), the greatest saint of Bengal, caused a complete moral revolution in Eastern India by preaching the creed of *bhakti* or devotion to God as incarnate in Krishna. His faith conquered Bengal, Orissa and Assam, and also established its stronghold in several other places, notably Brindaban.

The best of the three contemporary biographies of Chaitanya is the work of Krishnadas Kaviraj, in three parts. The middle part, containing the great saint's itinerary to holy places all over India, his exposition of theology and moral precepts, as well as many of his characteristic deeds and sayings,—has been here translated for the first time, and thus readers of English who know not the Bengali tongue have been presented with the most authoritative and unvarnished account of Chaitanya's wanderings and preachings exactly as known to his comrades and personal disciples, without any modern gloss or interpolations.

In the second edition, a translation of much of the *3rd part*, describing his last years, *has been added*, with some other new materials.

C. F. Andrews.—"The translation is lucid, clear and simple, and the book is remarkably well printed. A translation of this most famous work was urgently needed......As historical documents of a religious society of the middle age in Bengal [the original book is] of surpassing value. [The portion here translated] gives the clearest picture of the Saint, and his teaching, and is full of intense human interest from beginning to end... The picture drawn of the Saint is one of extraordinary beauty: a truly human figure comes before us and attracts our own love, even as it attracted the love of his first disciples." (*Mod. Review*, Oct., 1913).